

# EUROPEAN CERAMIC DESIGN 1500-1830

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KHJ Coutts

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I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance 12 in October 1987 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in October 1987; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between October 1987 and October 1993

23<sup>rd</sup> October 1993

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### Abstract of thesis

This thesis looks at the design and decoration of European ceramics in the period 1500-1830, paying particular attention to their place within the evolution of stylistic trends within European art and design in this period, including the dissemination of designs through prints during the Renaissance; the influence of the import of Oriental goods in the 17th and 18th centuries; the influence of metalwork in the 18th century; and the influence of the Classical revival of the late 18th century. It pays particular attention to the usage of objects and changes in eating and drinking, including the emergence and decline of service à la française in the 18th century, and the use of ceramics as room decoration in this period. It also considers ceramic production as an aspect of economic theory such as mercantilism and changes in society and industrial production.

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## European Ceramic Design 1500-1800

### Introduction

The regular progress of cultivated life is from necessities to accommodations, from accommodations to ornaments (Sir Joshua Reynolds, introduction to Seven Discourses, 1778 (1))

There have been many books on ceramics from Europe in the period of this study, 1500-1800; the subject has been avidly studied since the mid 19th century at least, when the systematic collecting of European ceramics first began (2). The literature is enormous and often remarkably detailed: we often know where items were made, how they were manufactured, and the range of wares made by the different factories. However, until recently, less attention has been paid to the quality of their visual impact, or their place within society in the history of early modern Western civilization. The main function of this study is to place fashionable ceramics of the early modern period within their artistic and social context, as a way of opening up the subject to further research and interpretation.

Ceramics - items of pottery and porcelain - do not, and did not, exist in isolation; they were made for particular uses at particular times, and have been christened by one historian

culture specific (3); that is, they are the product of any one culture at any one given time and can be used to interpret and reconstruct aspects of that culture. Being of baked clay, they are highly durable and, even when broken, can provide information on the society that produced them. Their value is thus proportionally greater to the historian who lacks written records for a culture, most obviously to an archeologist, who may well find that ceramics - albeit in broken form - form the largest product of his or her excavations (4).

Though there are many approaches to the subject of ceramics, two main lines of approach may be posited. The first is to study them in terms of their material, technique of manufacture and immediate function, analyzing the way in which the clay has been shaped and formed to provide objects for domestic or industrial use. We find that, as the clay has been baked to a high temperature, the ceramic body is especially useful for items that need to be heat- or weather- resistant, such as pots for cooking, bricks for building houses, tiles for covering roofs, pipes for water and waste disposal, and, most recently, items for electrical insulation. If covered in a thin layer of glass - a glaze - they become imporous and thus especially useful for domestic items for eating and drinking. The variety of uses has increased through the years as the materials have been refined and methods and techniques of manufacture grown more sophisticated (5).

However, a second approach might be to study ceramics from the opposite point of view, so to speak, and to analyse them to the extent that they deviate or go beyond from their apparent function, paying particular attention to those elements which do not seem relevant to their immediate physical function. This approach would pay particular attention to differences in shape or decoration (particularly when two dissimilar objects appear to have the same use), and especially where this has entailed deviation from the simplest method of manufacture, which in this study we shall take to be throwing on the potter's wheel. This approach would take particular account of 'unnecessary' or superfluous elements of design or decoration, and try to relate them to the society that produced them, and analyse their meaning for their first users and public.

This study is thus restricted to ceramics showing a certain degree of decoration or elaboration, indicating their creation by a society with a degree of surplus wealth or manpower. In turn this presupposes a society with a degree of internal organization, with settled conditions whereby a number of man-hours can be spent on the creation of items with an element of display, rather than for simple everyday sustenance. Such ceramics can tell us something about the tastes and habits of the people that used them, generally - in early modern Europe at least - the class that controlled the wealth and organization of



society. The most elaborate and decorative ceramics in early modern Europe were made for the governing class, in particular the King and his Court; however, as we shall see, by the 17th and 18th century a sizeable "middling" class had emerged which was able to purchase elaborate ceramics on its own account, which almost invariably followed court fashions, to a greater or lesser degree. By contrast, relatively simple ceramics actually used by the peasant or artisan class tended to remain fairly constant in technique and style throughout this period, and can be used to contrast with the products owned by the wealthier members of society. One of the ironies of this study is that the craftsmen and artisans who made the objects discussed were very seldom wealthy enough to be their original owners, and they feature only marginally in the text (6).

We may take as our starting point for our approach Velasquez's Old Woman Cooking Eggs in the National Gallery in Scotland (fig 1) (7). It was probably painted in Seville in Spain in about 1618, but can be used to make general points about the nature of ceramics and their utility through the ages. It shows an old woman in her kitchen, surrounded by a few relatively simple utilitarian utensils of domestic use. The artist has

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1) Diego Velasquez (1599-1660), Old Woman Cooking Eggs, Oil on canvas, 100.5 X 119.5 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh

carefully portrayed in the foreground a variety of simple ceramic items, such as two jugs and a dish, of a type that were manufactured in Europe for everyday use right into the 19th century. One assumes that this quantity of pottery was probably sufficient for her everyday needs, given her obvious lack of material wealth. However, when contrasted with the majority of items discussed here, they appear crude and unsophisticated and show that many ceramics of the modern period have design features and decorative elements way beyond their ostensible functional use. These elements are revealing of the culture of the society that produced them.

The capacity of objects to mean, and indicate more, than their ostensible physical function has long been recognized, and forms the basis of most modern 'material culture studies'. This approach to artefacts analyses them in term of their social function and meaning; it has its origins in Karl Marx's division of objects into use value and exchange value, that is, the difference between the ostensible usefulness of things, and their values as commodities - goods with a socially recognized value, such as gold and silver, which can be bought and sold. This interpretation was developed by the great economist Thorstein Bunde Veblen (1857-1929) who, at the end of the 19th century, began to discuss man and his artefacts from the point of view of a surplus of production, used by what he termed a leisure class (8). He coined the term conspicuous consumption to describe

the spending patterns of this class and discussed basic human behaviour such as eating, drinking and the wearing of clothes in terms of social display which could show degrees of differentiation within the class (9). This approach forms the basis of this study.

Veblen's approach has been developed by later theorists, who stress the seamless link between basic functional artefacts and items of decoration and display, since they both represent what has been called abstract social labour, that is, the quantity of workmanship put into an object, that can be bought and sold as a commodity, and represent the spending power or wealth of its owner. Some writers, such as Baudrillard, maintain that there is often no real distinction between the two, since often what we deem 'useful' in our society would be considered as luxury in other societies (10). This transition from luxuries to necessities has led to the whole classes of object being considered as everyday essentials, although at the time of their introduction they were perceived as products designed primarily for the rich and affluent. The 18th century certainly viewed the introduction of tea- and coffee-drinking as unnecessary luxuries, especially for the working classes, and commentators such as Josiah Hanway, in his Essay on Tea (1757) railed against beggars and common labourers who could be seen in public drinking tea instead of their traditional beverages (11). In our own time we have seen a vast array of mechanical objects, from motor-cars

to video-players and computers, break through the luxury barrier and begin to be seen as essentials to everyday life.

The existence of complex design and decoration on a piece of pottery or porcelain simply means that its utility lay not so much in its physical usage, as in its capacity as an object of display for the owner. This use of an object for display has been recognized from the moment of manufacture, as when the Milanese medalist and rock-crystal carver, Jacopo da Tresso, wrote from Spain to Duke Cosimo de'Medici in Florence in 1550 to enquire whether the cup he had commissioned was to drink from or only to look at (12). Similarly the director of the Sevres porcelain factory, d'Angivillier, writing of some elaborately decorated cups and saucers, noted that porcelain with some enamelling is often more an object of decoration than everyday usage (13). This process of display naturally reached its peak in objects made for Kings, above all in the great Sevres dinner-service made for Louis XVI in 1787, when even the King's chef du gobelet du roi noted that its extreme beauty will not allow it to be used everyday (14). Such royal objects represented the wealth and power of the state, and were used to impress emissaries from foreign countries, as was recognized at the time, as when in 1698 when Celia Fiennes commented on the elaborate throne and canopy at Windsor Castle, which were newly made to give audience to the French Embassadour [sic] to shew the grandeur and magnificence of the British Monarch - some of these

foolerys are requisite sometimes to create admiration and regard to keep up the state of a Kingdom and nation (15).

Such objects were intended to be highly visible, and the type of ceramics that we are discussing in this study are what might be called social ceramics, that is, items that could be seen and admired by the friends and others visitors of the owner. In the Middle Ages, when household objects were in themselves scarce, mere ownership of quantities of them could denote wealth to the rest of society (fig 2). In more settled times, from the 15th century onwards, as the risk of civil war diminished and as ideas of polite society grew, items that could help the specific tasks and rituals of socializing began to become important, and had a specific place in the hierarchy of everyday objects, which in turn reflected the hierarchy of society. In general, precious metals, such as gold and silver, took precedence, closely followed by expensive woven fabrics to act as wall-coverings or clothing. Ceramic items only became status symbols when their body was refined and made acceptable for the use of the rich from the 16th century onwards. The ceramic items discussed in this study functioned either as room decoration, where ceramics could form part of an overall decorative scheme, or, as became increasingly important, items for eating and drinking for

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2) Tapestry depicting a housewife going to market, laden with household goods. The inscription reads ICH HET HUSRAT GNUG WER ICH SUS IMAS FUDG ("I have household articles enough, otherwise I would not be so important and have such authority"). Swiss, c.1465. The Burrell Collection, Glasgow

feasting and other formal entertainment.

The function of a formal dinner in the early modern period has not been much discussed, but its importance was recognized at the time. Its purpose was seldom the simple satiation of appetite of the hungry - indeed they were specifically excluded - so much as to entertain one's friends and superiors and confirm one's place within a hierarchical social grouping. Often a certain amount of political discussion and activity would have taken place, to which luxury ceramic items formed a suitable background. This trend reached its apogee in England in the early 19th century, when fashionable novelists such as Theodore Hook allowed much of their plot to revolve around the dinner party, where political and social intrigue took place (16). Other writers of the time also laid emphasis on the social importance of a dinner party, seeing it as an essential part of civilized life; the writer and great diner-out Sydney Smith (1771-1845) observed that an excellent and well-arranged dinner is a most pleasing occurrence, and a great triumph of civilised life. It is not only the descending morsel, and the enveloping sauce - but the rank, wealth, wit and beauty which surround the meats - the learned management of light and heat - the smiling and sedulous host, proffering gusts and relishes - the exotic bottles - the embossed plate - the pleasant remarks - the handsome dresses - the cunning artifices in flour and farina! The hour of dinner, in short, includes every thing of sensual and intellectual

gratification which a great nation glories in producing (17).

Such elaborate dinner parties required elaborate utensils, which became increasingly specialized as time went on. In this respect ceramics can take on a further meaning, as when they can show up negative differences in class and culture, especially when a mistake in correct usage has been made. The aforementioned Hook gleefully commented on the nouveau riche's inability to decode the right way of holding a dinner party, even with the aid of a vast quantity of rich plate (18). It is not that food or drink in general tastes any different in differently shaped containers, but that the correct ordering of artefacts were seen as essential to a well-run dinner party, and misunderstanding of this order revealed ignorance of the social codes. Bertrand Russell recounted how, as a youth of seventeen, he was left alone after dinner with the puzzled Prime Minister William Gladstone, who said to him This is very good port they've given me, but why have they given me it in a claret glass? (19). Gladstone was not complaining that the wine tasted any different in a claret glass, but that his sense of decorum of the organization of a well-run dinner party had been breached.

Thus differently shaped or decorated ceramics used at the dinner table can be seen not simply as random variations in design, but as reflections of a whole nation's wealth or culture, and in particular its class and social structure and

distribution of wealth. Sometimes a whole class of ceramics can be linked to new imported fashions in eating and drinking for the rich, most notably in the fashion for tea, coffee and chocolate in the late 17th and 18th centuries, and can be used to reconstruct aspects of society within a given period (20).

Yet increasingly wealth was not represented simply by a great variety of artefacts, so much as artefacts designed or decorated in a certain way, which represented their owner's taste. Central to this study is the idea of constantly changing fashion, guided by a central rule of taste which was considered the preserve of the educated and governing classes. The period 1500-1850 saw enormous technical advances and visual changes in the appurtenances of society, as people adapted their surroundings to suit different social conditions. In fashionable society this took the form of a constant search for variety and novelty in taste which ceramics manufacturers turned to their advantage, encouraging consumers to buy ceramics in new shapes and with new decoration, even though their old were still (presumably) usable. The importance of design and decoration was naturally greatest when differences in the physical usage of objects was minimal; Josiah Wedgwood commented to his business partner Thomas Bentley in 1767 Novelty is a great matter in slight matters of taste (21). In turn the actual business of the **purchase** of new ceramics could be an activity in itself, enabling the leisure class to pass the time of day shopping or at auction



sales. In this respect one would like to see more studies of shopping as a leisure activity (22); the records of such London merchants as Thomas Bentley (in partnership with Wedgwood) and William Duesbury of the Derby factory make clear the tremendous effort that was put into cajoling a possibly reluctant but fashionable clientele into purchasing wares in the latest taste, when they probably already had enough for everyday use (23).

One by-product of the idea of rapidly changing styles and fashions, current for only a few years, is the concept of nostalgia for a certain period in the past, which can be recalled with the aid of artefacts. It is perhaps significant that the fashion for collecting antiques, in the modern sense of objects from the relatively recent past, developed in the 19th century, when sudden changes in society and technology led to an interest in objects from one hundred years before. At first this interest was confined to those pieces of individual, hand-made, quality which were rapidly being supplanted by mass-produced objects, but soon pieces were collected in the sense of accumulating artefacts by type or by origin, without regard to their artistic quality. The beginnings of collecting ceramics by factory starts about this time. Here the preservation of objects from the past partakes of something of what Freud called cathexis (German Besetzung - ownership or investment) which can lead to strong feelings about ownership, somewhat akin to his description of miserliness, or the need for gold, which can lead

to the mere accumulation of objects without any consideration for their intrinsic interest or beauty. The estimation of old or out-of-date ceramics as more significant than modern ones could lead to macabre twists in their fate: I refer to the picture of guests smashing precious Nymphenburg and Copenhagen porcelain at an after dinner-recreation of the Vanderbilts in pre-First World War New York (fig 3) (24). The sight of the rich senselessly smashing harmless and delicately-made items of out-of-date porcelain is likely to arouse strong feelings of antipathy in many breasts.

It is this rapport that many people seem to have with domestic ceramics that constitutes one of their most enduring qualities. The great ceramic historian Arthur Lane wrote in 1948 that most people regard pottery with friendly feelings, gladly including it among the not strictly useful objects that help turn a dwelling house into a home (25). Sometimes these feelings of possession can get out of hand, best seen in the competition for items at London sales (fig 4)! This idea that we can regard an inanimate objects with 'friendly feelings', normally applicable only to our fellow human beings, depends on our capacity to invest these items with something of our own personality and

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3) after-dinner entertainment at the Vanderbilts, illustration from Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung, reproduced in V.Cowles, 1913: The Defiant Swan-Song, London, 1967, p.219

4) Scene from the London sales, a photograph from The Guardian, June 28th, 1989

experiences. A favourite coffee cup, or the souvenir cup or jug acquired when on holiday, inscribed with the name of the resort, is a typical example. At a deeper level one can appreciate the individual craftsmanship that went into it, giving one a sense of the personality or skill of the potter, in the way that one can appreciate the creator of painting or sculpture.

The appreciation of ceramics as the work of an individual craftsman soon led to their consideration as a form of 'high' art, in the sense of being worthy of appreciation as the product of an individual artist rather than an artisan potter or mass-produced. The idea gained currency in Europe from the late 19th century, and owes its origin to Western knowledge of the Chinese and Japanese traditions of appreciating the individual potter, whose pots left the kiln with a certain roughness that indicated that they were hand-made. It was re-inforced by the teachings of John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-96) and the rise of the 'Arts and Crafts Movement' of the later 19th century Britain, with its stated emphasis on the rejection of machine-made things and its valuing of objects only in so far as they were made by a skilled craftsman, using his material in a 'natural' way. A key point was that the craftsman should be happy and contented in his work, properly paid for his skills and preferably operating in some kind of guild system. In turn this tied with the the concept of 'the art of the potter', that is, what one craftsman could achieve by himself with simple materials

and simple tools, usually not more than a potter's wheel, tools for incising and glazing, and a firing kiln. Pottery and porcelain was valued as today we might value a work of sculpture, for its shape and quality, which need only be simple and often with as little decoration as possible. This accorded well with the aesthetic ideals of the early 20th century, when art critics such as Roger Fry (1866-1934) were less interested in an artist's technical skill than in his attempt to produce a meaningful object which produced an emotional response in the spectator.

This approach led to a rejection of overlavish and colourful decoration, which was seen as 'unnatural'; the true artist potter, or 'studio potter' as he came to be known, never sought to hide the clays and glazes that he was using. Pottery came to be preferred to porcelain. Leon-Marc-Emmanuel Solon's (1835-1913) The Art of the Old English Potter of 1883 was the first to analyse a whole range of 'simple' English country pottery, apparently quite at variance with the elaborate pate-sur-pate porcelain execution that Solon himself had carried out for Minton's. The point was that he felt he had something in common with the potters of the past, in that they were both exercising their skill in manipulating materials for the benefit of humanity, and he is correspondingly scathing of the work of the unskilled. In his great book The Ancient Art of Stoneware in the Low Countries and Germany (1892) he contrasted the coarse labourer who made simple pots with the elegant vase or graceful

ewer made by an ingenious and skilful craftsman (26), although he did not underestimate the debt that the latter owed to his forerunner (27). This approach inspired a strong run of books on ceramics which interpreted ceramics aesthetically in terms of their making and their use of natural materials (28). It was about this time that simple hand-made pottery came to replace lavishly decorated porcelain in the affections of collectors and the general public. The emphasis was on things that could be appreciated through handling rather than just looked at and admired.

Though this approach has many virtues - most notably in its understanding of the technical processes whereby pieces are made, and how the materials are used - it does tend to neglect a great mass of ceramics which are the product of not just one man but a whole industrial production line, starting with a design or designer who may live many miles away from the actual site of production, or may even come from a different period. Most European ceramics of the period 1500-1800 were not made by single potters, working happily with their materials and producing individual works of art for a specialized public. Excavations on sites such as the Delftware works at London reveal piles of fused plates (wasters), clearly not made individually, but made in masses, and presumably painted by women and children working on pittance rates. Pottery was one of the first industries to industrialize, leading to specialization of

labour and the employment of women and children at base rates for the simpler work. The truth is that the work of the potter was, until the later 19th century, one of the most unpleasant of industrial occupations, leading to a wide variety of diseases, caused by the dangerous materials with which they worked (29).

My purpose in this study is to analyse ceramics in visual and historical rather than purely functional or technical terms, discussing them less as the work of one man or method of manufacture, but paying particular attention to their appearance, and treating them as reflections of major historical artistic impulses within the historical contexts - the Renaissance, Rococo, Neo-Classicism - which dominated the arts at any particular moment. Though ceramics and the decorative arts in general do not generally feature in the academic study of art history, their importance would have been understood at the time of their creation, when quality of workmanship and ingenuity of invention was considered as important as individual genius. It is possible to show that, along with other examples of natural and human ingenuity, they were more highly valued in the past than they are today, with a somewhat arbitrary distinction between the 'fine' and 'decorative' arts still current in many quarters. At their best they are significant symbols of social and artistic history, on which much care and attention was lavished in the past, and are as fully worthy of serious research and appreciation as other visual material, since they reflect (albeit

to a lesser degree) the visual and artistic preoccupations of a former society. This was well understood in former times, where all forms of advanced manufacture were considered to fall legitimately within an educated or aristocratic taste. The Earl of Shaftesbury, the great philosopher of aesthetics, wrote in his essay on taste entitled Characteristicks (1711, revised 1714) that Nothing which is found charming or delightful in the polite world, nothing which is adopted as pleasure, or entertainment, of whatever kind, can any way be accounted for, supported, or established, with the pre-establishment or supposition of a certain taste... by one of these tastes, he [a gentleman] understands how to lay out his garden, model his house, fancy his equipage, appoint his table (30). This taste for architecture and garden design have long been recognized as worthy of fuller study and discussion in academic circles, though carriage decoration remains a little-known subject. It is my aim to discuss the history of how a gentleman might appoint his table over the ages in terms of the ceramic items he might have used in the dining room, as well as elsewhere in the house; in the process I hope to show that ceramics merit history and research in the broadest possible sense.



1. The Complete Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, first President of the Royal Academy, London, 1824, p.1
2. see H. Coutts, 'Josephine Bowes and the Craze for Collecting Ceramics in the 19th century', The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar [Handbook], 1992, pp.16-23
3. J.le Patourel quoted in M. McCarthy, Medieval Pottery in Britain, London, 1988, p.3
4. Ceramics, as well as other forms of material culture, become historical documents which supplement the written sources, and, provided that some information is available as to place, maker, or cultural context, they are of value [in solving historical or cultural problems] -- whether accumulated by antiquarians, by ethnologic or artists collection, or by archeological excavation R.W. Ehrich, 'Ceramics and Man; A Cultural Perspective' in ed FR Matson, Ceramics and Man, London, 1966, p.11. See also O. Shepherd, Ceramics for the Archeologist, 1956
5. R. Weinhold, The Many Faces of Clay, 1983
6. eg GM Foster, 'The Sociology of Pottery', in ed FR Matson, Ceramics and Man, London, 1966, pp.43-57
7. H. Brigstocke, Italian and Spanish Paintings in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1978, p.176
8. T. Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class: A Study of Institutions, London, 1949 ed.
9. a guest consumes vicariously for his host at the same time that he is a witness to the consumption of that excess of good things which his host is unable to dispose of single-handed, and he is also made to witness his host's facility in etiquette. Veblen, op.cit., p.74. c.f. also Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste, London, 1986
10. use value is also a "fetishized social relation...it is an abstraction of the system of needs cloaked in the false evidence of a concrete destination and purpose, an intrinsic finality of goods and products. J. Baudrillard, For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign, St. Louis, 1981, p.131
11. B. Hillier, Pottery and Porcelain 1700-1914, London, 1968, p.77
12. un vaso per beber o per sol vedere. J. Hayward, Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism, London, 1976, p.45
13. la porcelaine un peu décorée est bien souvent plus objet de décoration que d'usage journalier. R. Savill, The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Sevres Porcelain, London, 1988, p.489



14. In 1787 the King's chef du gobelet du roi wrote to him that Sa Majeste a bien Ordonné un riche Service, mais joint a ce qu'il ne sera complet que dans biens des années, son extreme beauté ne permettra pas qu'on s'en serve habituellement. G.de Bellaigue, Sevres Porcelain in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen: The Louis XVI Service, Cambridge, 1986, p.12

15. quoted by G. Jackson-Stops in Courts and Colonies: the William and Mary Style in Holland, England, and America, New York/Pittsburgh, 1988, p.36

16. A. Adburgham, Silver Fork Society: Fashionable Life and Literature from 1814 to 1840, London, 1983, p.50

17. Sydney Smith, quoted in J. Green, Consuming Passions, London, 1985, p.32

18. Wealthy, inordinate and immense as the dinner may be, it cannot give the tact, the manner of doing things. In the midst of the golden dishes and golden vases, there is always some mistake at such dinners, some little blunder which neither the master nor mistress of the house can hope to rectify on any future occasions, not being conscious of anything wrong... in short, there is always some drawback, some terrible qualifier in the affair, which it would be difficult to define, but which invariably gives the air **bourgeoise** to all the attempts of upstart wealth to imitate the tone and manner of the aristocracy of our country quoted in Adburgham, op.cit., p.49

19. as recounted in an interview on the programme Face to Face (1959), repeated on BBC2, 13.11.1988

20. seem for instance, L. Weatherill, Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760, London, 1988

21. K.E. Farrer, Letters of Josiah Wedgwood 1762-1770, Manchester, 1903 [reprint], p.141

22. but c.f. A. Adburgham, Shops and Shopping, 1800-1914

23. summaries included in the appendix of J. Twitchett, Derby Porcelain, London, 1980

24. from Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung, reproduced in V. Cowles, 1913: The Defiant Swan-Song, London, 1967, p.219

25. A. Lane, Style in Pottery, London, 1948, p.9

26. L. Solon, The Ancient Art of Stoneware in the Low Countries and Germany, London, 1892, vol.1, p.26

27. However simple an ornamental earthen pot, it is seldom the product of the ingenuity and talent of a single individual. Without taking into account the accumulated experience handed down to their followers by the preceding generation - of which any work we are trying to analyze is partly the result - many hands have assisted in the completion of this single object. The potter's art is eminently a collective one. L.S.Solon, The Ancient Art of Stoneware in the Low Countries and Germany 1892, p.20

28.e.g.the potter is absorbed first and foremost with the technical mysteries of his craft, and is prepared to accept as incidentals whatever forms and decoration are proposed by his teacher, who may live at the opposite end of the world A.Lane, Style in Pottery, London, 1948, p.12

29.This was commented on by the Italian Bernardino Ramazzini in his De Morbis Artificum of 1700:There's scarce any City in which there are not other Workmen, besides those mention'd above, who receive great Prejudice from the Metallick Plagues. Among such we reckon the Potters; for what City, what Town is without such a practice that is the Ancientest of all Arts? Now, the Potters make use of burnt and calcin'd Lead for glazing their Ware; and for that end grind their Lead in Marble Vessels, by turning about a long Piece of Wood hung from the Roof, with a square Stone fasten'd to it at the other end. While they do this, as well as when with a pair of Tongs they daub their Vessels over with melted Lead before they put'em into the Furnace; they receive by the Mouth and Nostrils and all the Pores of the Body all the virulent Parts of the Lead thus melted in Water & dissolv'd, and thereupon are siez'd with heavy Disorders. For first of all their Hands begin to shake and tremble, soon after they become Paralytick, Lethargick, Splenetick, Cachectick and Toothless, and in fine, you'll scarce see a Potter that has not a Leaden Death-like Complexion. B.Hillier, op.cit., pp.19-21

30.he then goes on to say that other qualities matter more, and that a right mind, and generous affection, had more beauty and charm, than all other symmetries in the world besides. quoted in D.Irwin, Winckelmann: Writings on Art, London, 1972, p.39

## Chapter 1: Pottery in Medieval Europe

Objects made out of clay - pottery - are perhaps the most widely distributed objects throughout the world. Their survival is a clue to the existence of many vanished civilizations and can throw light on their organization and workings. The existence of pottery production - and especially that where it is possible to detect some specialization of purpose - can give us clues as to the kind of life lived in the past, and indicates a certain degree of civilization. As such, it is of great help to the archeologist for reconstructing life in former societies where written records are either scarce or non-existent (1).

Pottery has been made in Europe in any locality where there was sufficient quantities of clay, and sufficient human resources and demand to make it worthwhile. The materials needed for its production are relatively simple: clay and water, with a sufficient quantity of fuel to bake the clay, and human beings to manage the production. These requirements tend to localize pottery production on a large scale to a few distinct areas, although sites for lesser production, such as family or small workshop concerns, can be found all over Europe. The clay itself is found in the ground and is composed of particles of decomposed rocks, mostly granitic and felspathic, broken down by the action of water, frost, and carbonic acid, produced by the decay of vegetation. The finest clays are composed of the

smallest particles. It is most easily dug from open-pits; in medieval times and later, there were complaints about the damage that potters did to roads and other localities (hence our term today "pot-holes"). It would appear that clay was taken from the distance a potter could easily travel in a day, that it came from an area of four or five kilometers in circumference (2).

However, clay is not in a fit state to be moulded directly when it is dug from the ground. It usually has to be sieved or otherwise treated to get rid of impurities; alternatively, fillers, such as sand or rock fragments, or ground-up pottery, called grog, can be added to improve the strength of the clay before shaping it. The strength of the clay can be improved by compacting the particles in order to remove the air between them; the clay can be compressed (kneaded or wedged) or trampled by foot, or left damp for a time, so that the water breaks down the particles still further. Sometimes the clay was excavated before winter and left outside in the cold, in order to allow the effects of snow and ice to break it down further (3).

Baked clay has a variety of uses, but those most commonly encountered are due to its durability caused by the baking process, which means that it can both hold liquids and resist the effects of heat and cold. It is thus of great use in cooking and the preparation of foodstuffs, in the form of pots and containers. However, it can of course have other functions, due

to its ability to resist the effects of weathering and daily wear and tear; a major use from earliest times onwards has been that of making bricks for buildings and tiles for roofs and floors. A large number of sites are known for these and it would appear that when a large building was in the course of construction, it was often the custom to set up a kiln on the building site itself (4).

A pot can be made in many ways, but the most common form of manufacture consists of shaping the clay by hand, sometimes by winding up coils of clay to form a coil pot, or else, more usually, by throwing (moulding the clay by hand) on a moving horizontal wheel. We know relatively little about the history of the potter's-wheel in medieval Europe, since the earliest depiction does not appear until the 13th century (5). It seems to have comprised two types: firstly, a small circle of wood raised above a cart-wheel, which was turned irregularly with a stick; and secondly, a smaller wheel supporting another circle of wood linked by wooden struts which was moved by action of the feet (a "kick-wheel") (6).

The use of the potter's wheel both speeded up production and led to a uniformity of product which we are familiar with today. Most obviously, the pot produced thus is uniformly round in its girth, though a skilled potter can produce variations in its width to produce a concave or convex outline. He can vary his

product by certain simple actions, such as pulling out a part of the neck of the pot to produce a lip to make a jug, or waiting till the pot is dry and adding other parts, such as a handle, with his hands. In such cases the handle is fixed to the main body with liquid clay (luting).

Once the pot is formed, it must be left to dry until it is leather-hard, preparatory to baking. However, just before this final stage, some applied decoration can be added, either by impressing the pot with a mould, or incising decoration with a tool, be it of bone, wood or metal. Decoration can also be applied in the form of coloured liquid clays of finer quality (slips), often white or brown. The pot is then ready to be covered with a mixture of minerals and water called a glaze, that is, an outer covering, which, when heated, turns to glass to make the pot impervious to liquids. In Medieval Europe, the glaze was always nearly a lead-glaze, formed by the reaction of lead oxide and silica. The glazes could have other minerals added to produce different effects, such as copper to produce a green colour, or iron to produce a reddish-brown or brown colour. The particles of the glaze could be sprinkled onto the pot in powder form, but were often suspended in water, into which the pot was dipped, to gain a more even overall effect.

The pot was now ready to be fired in a large oven on the ground called a kiln. This could range from something akin to a

huge bonfire, built up with masses of wood and sticks, through to a properly constructed brick oven, with a domed top or chimney outlet, which allowed some degree of temperature control (7). The pots had to be fired slowly at first, to allow the water to escape; then to a point between 450-700 degrees C to drive out the water of crystallization, at which point the clay becomes hard and water-resistant, and is no longer capable of reverting back to its malleable state, as the clay particles begin to melt and coalesce. Clay at this stage is the rather brittle product we know as earthenware; if the clay is of suitable quality and the temperature is increased to 1200 degrees C, it becomes a tough impervious form of pottery, no longer in need for a glaze, called stoneware.

During the firing the pot may undergo a change of colour, depending on the mineral content of the pot and its glaze, and the gases that are present in the kiln. Where there is an atmosphere rich in oxygen (an oxidizing atmosphere), clays with a high iron content turn red, to produce the colour so familiar in pottery, whereas those low in iron will turn white. When the clay is fired in a atmosphere with little oxygen (a reducing atmosphere) the clay rich in iron will turn black or grey. The glazes are similarly affected by the difference in the amount of oxygen in the chamber; a lead-glaze on an oxidized surface will vary from pale yellow to amber or brown, whereas a glaze fired in a reduced atmosphere will turn pale yellow-green to dark olive



green (8).

Pots so made will have a wide variety of uses, dependent on the needs of the society that produces them. Different societies produce different kinds of pot. It will be apparent that pottery styles and types are the product of a mixture of different techniques, allied to different uses and different artistic or visual traditions. However, it is possible to point to a clear development of pottery types in Europe through the early Middle Ages.

The Roman Empire has produced a wide variety of high-quality pottery, most famously the Samian ware (terra sigillata) which consisted of bowls and other wares with stamped figurative decoration which was exported throughout the Empire, being found north as far as Scotland. However, the fall of the Roman Empire led to a decline in the range of pottery products made in Europe, with the loss of many techniques, such as glazing, which did not reappear in Europe until the eighth century. This makes wares of the fifth century onwards seem extremely primitive and backward looking; for instance, the pottery of Anglo-Saxon England (6th-8th centuries) and Merovingian France (6-7th century) has more in common with the simple carbonated black wares of the La Tene epoch in Europe (6th -1st centuries B.C.) than the finer products of Roman pottery. They were of simple form, with decoration limited to rouletting or stamping, a technique inherited from



Roman terra sigillata ware. Most surviving specimens come from excavated graves and comprise funerary urns or household pots; these latter show certain specific characteristics which enable the archeologist to posit certain local types (9). Lead-glazing reappeared in Western Europe around the 8th century in the region around the eastern Mediterranean sea. It spread to Normandie in France, England, Holland and Germany by the tenth century, but did not become common in the Western Mediterranean till the last half of the thirteenth century (10).

Pottery made in early modern Europe was extremely simple in type, being limited to those items that could be made by one man or a small group of potters working together, with variations according to local needs. The status of the potter seems to have been extremely low and little better than that of an untrained artisan. Most items made seem to comprise rudimentary vessels for cooking or storage. The vessels made in Northern Europe were made of light coloured clays, often glazed with a simple lead glaze coloured yellow from the admixture of a little iron oxide. The shapes appear to be indigenous and owe little to the East. In France the most common items were kitchen wares, globular cooking pots, and short-necked pitchers and jugs, which were either glazed or decorated very simply with vertical parallel lines in red ochre; the latter were presumably made in the same workshops as the glazed wares, as they sometimes have splashes of glaze on them. This kind of decoration remained constant while the shapes

showed a tendency to evolve. Many of these wares have been found in graves, where the Merovingian custom of placing goods with the dead continued beyond the fourteenth century, and some wares are even pierced with holes to act as incense burners (11).

Glazed ware only became common in France in the 12th century. A green or green speckled glaze was developed, and a new shape of a pitcher with a tall cylindrical neck and handle running from the shoulder to the lip appeared. Polychrome wares, with green and brown vertical stripes appeared in the 13th century, and applied or rouletted ornament became more common (12). Many were made in the region of Lower Normandy, specifically Saintonge wares, made at La Chapelle-des-Pots, 5 km north east of Saintes. These wares comprise jugs painted in colours in green and yellow, the design being outlines in brown or black, or scrolls with green leaves in yellow shields, or large green birds with yellow shields. These wares were exported to England and elsewhere (13).

Advanced wares were also made in other parts of Europe with good trading connections, particularly the Netherlands and Germany. At Aardenburg in Holland jugs of red pottery were made, green-glazed from the neck to the base, and covered in a white slip, with applied decoration of 'prunts' (moulded strawberry decoration of a kind often found in glassware). At Badorf and Pingsdorf in the Rhineland red-painted ware was made, which was

exported all the round the Baltic (14). Also in Germany certain regional types are known, most obviously the three legged Grapen or cooking skillet (fig 1)(15). In the Danube region graphite was added to the body or the surface, producing a dark ware with an iron-like body (Eisentonware), or even a dark sheen on the body of the "smoked" wares produced by throwing green twigs into the kiln during firing and blocking up the ventilation shafts, producing a smoky atmosphere. In general, German wares show less interest in the development of glazing techniques, and more concern over producing a hard, high-fired pottery, which was to develop into the stonewares of the 15th and 16th century.

In general the status of pottery on the Continent lay well behind that of metalwork. It would appear that wood or leather was often used for items such as plates or flasks, and that in general pottery was regarded as a very poor material (16). Most of the products that have come down to us were fairly clearly used for storage or cooking and would not have graced the table of a wealthy man. Some idea of the uses of pottery vessels can be gauged from the picture by Gerard David (c.1450-1523) (fig 2) depicting The Marriage at Cana, when Christ performed the miracle of turning water into wine, in the form of a fashionable 15th

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1) Tripod cooking pot (Grapen). Greyish clay. North Germany. Height 19.5 cm.

2) Gerard David (c.1450-1523) Detail from The Marriage at Cana. The Louvre, Paris

century feast. The diners use metal utensils on the table, and pottery is only used for the large storage jugs of water/wine seen on the bottom left of the picture (17).

England lagged slightly behind countries on the Continent both in terms of wealth and technological development. The fast wheel and the kiln were introduced from the Continent in late Saxon times, and the technique of glazing appeared only in the tenth century, at Stamford in Lincolnshire and Winchester in the South West (18). Pots made here were coloured by iron oxides, producing a pale yellow or orange in an oxidizing atmosphere, or green under reducing conditions. Simple decoration was applied, consisted of rouletting, incising, stamping and applied strips, mostly on pitcher with pinched spouts and a single handle, but also on the more rarely encountered tripod pitcher with a tubular spout. The shape of cooking pots changed from tall upright to a wide squat shape, presumably on account of changes in cooking technique.

Up to about the 14th and 15th centuries, most drinking and eating vessels for ordinary people seem to have been made of wood (19). However, sixty five pottery vessel forms have been identified in Britain from the late Saxon to the Tudor period, which can be classed in three main types: the cooking or storage pot, the bowl/pan/dish, and the jug or pitcher. These have been subdivided and analyzed in great detail by McCarthy and Brooks

(20). The largest seem to have been cooking-pots, of a capacity of three to five pints, which, from the evidence of soot on their bases, seem to have been left directly in the fire itself. Other types, such as the Cornish bar-lug pots, were suspended over the fire. The later Middle Ages in Britain saw a shift to the use of metal cauldrons, in which a pottery pot might be boiled with its contents, and in turn British cooking-pots became smaller and began to imitate the smaller three-footed pipkins from the Low Countries, with one or two loop handles. There seem also to have been large pans for the frying of food, or to catch the dripping from roasting meat. Jugs and pitchers of various forms are also known, with minor variations (fig 3). A characteristic English type was the tall jug/pitcher, whose height was roughly three-times its diameter. Often jugs have a slight convexity at the base, where they have been pulled off the wheel, and sometimes the potter has thumb-printed the base to facilitate steadiness. Large cisterns, with a hole for a tap at the bottom, are also known, and presumably used to hold fermenting liquids, the fermentation being drawn off from the bottom. Varieties of drinking bowl are known, though fewer in number than might be thought, as it was still common to use turned wooden versions. Some of the differences may be due to regional variations of diet or occupation; for instance, large dishes found in the West Country may be linked to cheese-making or bee-keeping (21).

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3) Medieval jugs and cooking pots from Oxford. Height of tallest 23cm. The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

The styles of decoration of English medieval pottery resulted from its limited technique. Vessels are often unglazed, or glazed only on the inside. There is relatively little painted decoration, which is associated through excavation of kiln sites with certain specific types, such as the pottery made at Rye on the South coast, where red ochre is painted onto a white slip, in patterns of crosses, stars, vertical bands of trellis pattern, and Cheam in Surrey, where brown is applied to the buff body in a foliate form. Incising could be done with a roulette wheel, or intaglio stamps onto a pad of clay on the body, as in certain jugs from York, which are impressed with seals (22).

In general decoration on medieval English pottery seems to be fairly closely associated with usage, in that ordinary cooking pots were unlikely to receive much ornamentation. It was the products that appeared on the table, such as jugs and aquamaniles (jugs in the form of animals, or knights on horses) (fig 4), that began to receive glaze and applied ornaments at strategic parts of the body - the shoulders, neck, rims and handles. The most famous examples of wares with animal-type decoration are the jugs with a grotesque face at the neck, sometimes with human hands at the side. Sometimes, in Britain, decoration resembled strips or pellets that appeared on ironwork

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4) Bronze aquamanile from Hexham (height 33cm) and pottery aquamanile from Norfolk (height 21.3cm). British Museum, London (from McCarthy and Brooks, p.56)

decoration on doors or furniture; sometimes it took the form of heraldic decoration, as with York White Ware seal jugs that appear have decoration based on the coat-of-arms of the Quincy family (23). Other decoration may be symbolic, relating to charms against witchcraft, or simply unidentified, as in the fish, shields, ships and jousting scenes that appear on pottery from Rye (24). The thirteenth century saw an increase in the range of types of decoration, probably the result of foreign influence. Tri-colour glazing, with applied or incised ornament began to appear on jugs and pitchers from Southampton and London. These seem to be copied from French models from Rouen, Beauvais or Paris. Some decoration is clearly personal, and intended for identification, as a letter from John Paston II to Margaret Paston of 1473 makes clear: I send you...3 pots of Genoa treacle...There is one pot that is marked under the bottom twice with these letters 'MP' for Margaret Paston, in which pots I have best trust (25).

There was, however, one form of pottery in medieval Europe which reached a considerable artistic and technological height: the production of floor-tiles made of coloured clays for great palaces or wealthy merchants' houses, which show close links with developments in other fields of the applied arts. The tiles were made by pressing a lump of clay into a square wooden frame, and cutting off the surplus clay with a wire or knife. The technique seems to have been perfected in France in about the 13th century,

with heraldic motifs being a common form of decoration, and different patterns formed by laying different tiles alongside one another. The finest tiles are associated with major architectural commissions of the time, such as the tiles on the floor of the Chapter House in Westminster Abbey (fig 5). For large commissions a kiln seems to have been made "on site", so to speak; it was demolished when finished with and the superstructure thrown into the substructure which can be excavated today, as at Clarendon Palace, Wiltshire. However, commercial tileries, to serve many different patrons, had been developed by the later 13th century (26). At Winchester polychrome floor tiles occur in the Old Minster and similar have been found throughout England. Production of Winchester ware ceased in the 12th century, but continued at Stamford throughout the 13th century (27).

Tiles were used as decoration in a wide variety of ways. The simplest was to use them in a kind of mosaic form of contrasting colours, red being laid next to white to produce a patterned effect. Shaped tiles could be used to remarkable effect, as in the scene of Adam and Eve seizing the apple from the snake in the Garden of Paradise in Prior Crauden's chapel at Ely of about 1324, the figure tiles here being painted with a white slip (28). However, the greatest development lay in the technique of inlaying the red clay with clays or a slip of

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5) Group of tiles with a design of a cock and a fox, c.1253-59. White clay inlaid into brown. Chapter House, Westminster Abbey, London



another colour, the most frequently encountered being that of white in red, and then glazed with a clear or yellowish lead-glaze. Here each tile could have a partial geometric or heraldic type of decoration, which would not be understood until laid with its fellow and the pattern complete. Figures of animals, people, biblical scenes or knights jousting are also known. Five colour polychrome floor-tiles were also made in Yorkshire in imitation of Mediterranean wares. These were glazed while still green and fired only once to reduce the risk of warping that affect flat surfaces. They were then glazed with a yellow glaze (29).

The making of pottery in England and indeed most of medieval Europe seems to have been a relatively unskilled and low-status operation, unworthy of guild status, with relatively little change in type over generations (30). The range of workshops might range from a household-style production, producing goods as was necessary for the household or related households, through to a kind of 'mass-production' can be assumed for some of the commoner types found. In Britain there was no guild for potters, although tile-makers successfully petitioned for guild status in 1468, and an Act of Parliament of 1477 laid down regulations for their manufacture. This contrasts with countries which made more sophisticated pottery such as the Netherlands, where the records of the Guild of Potters of Bergen op Zoom gives precise instructions on the making of pots (31).

One of the major questions with medieval pottery is the extent to which it was seen as a product in itself, to be exported to other countries, or simply a local product to act as containers for storage and cooking. There seems to have been a certain amount of export of the pottery in medieval Europe, both between localities and countries, though nearly always of the finer types, since simple pottery could have been made and bought locally. Excavations in England and elsewhere reveal a wide variety of pottery and other goods with links from outside the locality of excavation, including green-glazed and otherwise decorated jugs imported from Rouen and Saintonge in France, or greywares or slipwares from the Low Countries (32). Customs records reveal evidence in a trade with Netherlandish ports in pots as such, but the imports were of little value relative to the value of wool or wine (33). Some types of imported pottery may simply have come as containers for imported goods, with the wine trade or the salt trade (34). The subject of the making and production and export of medieval European pottery is contentious, with relatively little backing in the form of written documents (35).

By the 15th century the forms of English pottery had been standardized into simple shapes of different sizes, indicating an advanced industrial technique, with something akin to mass production, and possibly the influence of standard measures. The range of goods was much wider, including candlesticks, cups,

plates (both formerly of wood), chafing- dishes (rimmed dishes to hold hot embers or warm water or other liquids) and colanders, copied from the Low Countries. The puzzle-jug, a jug with deceptive spouts to scatter the unwary drinker with liquid, makes its appearance at this time. Pottery was now of very high standard, with less reliance on sand and grit to break down the clays, and decorative glazes such as the well-known 'Surrey green' make their appearance. The production of such simple pottery continued with variation until well into the 19th century, and continued to be the kind of basic pottery available to the poorest and most numerous members of society. However, advances were in hand which were to raise the status of pottery to a fine art.

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3. see Dora M. Billington, The Technique of Pottery, London, 1974

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9. J. D. Frierman, Medieval Ceramics: VI to XIII Centuries, University of California, 1975, p. 11
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16. For a general discussion of the use of metal, wooden and ceramics items in early Medieval England, see C. Earwood, Domestic Wooden Artefacts in Britain and Ireland from Neolithic to Viking Times, Exeter, 1993, and J. Hatcher and T. C. Barker, A History of British Pewter, London, 1974, p. 40. For a discussion of wooden vessels found in Ribe in Denmark, see H. Stiesdal, 'An Excavation in the town of Ribe, Denmark', Rotterdam Papers, 1968, p. 159
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18. M. Biddle and K. Barclay, 'Winchester Ware' in Evison, op.cit., pp. 137-166
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20. see note 1
21. M. R. McCarthy, op.cit., p. 125
22. B. Rackham, Medieval English Pottery, London, 1972, p. 21-23
23. M. R. McCarthy, op.cit., p. 128
24. M. R. McCarthy, op.cit., p. 128

- 25.M.R.Mccarthy, op.cit., p.131
- 26.E.Eames, English Medieval Tiles, London, British Museum, 1985,p.7
- 27.Frierman, op.cit., p.18
- 28.Eames, op.cit., p.20-21
- 29.Frierman,p.18
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- 33.J.le Patourel, "Documentary evidence for the pottery trade in north-west Europe" in Davey and Hodges, op.cit., pp.27-35
- 34.Davey and Hodges, op.cit.,pp.19-21
- 35.Dunning, 1968, p.35

## Chapter 2: The Spread of Tin-glaze Earthenware: Italian Maiolica

The pottery we have discussed so far was mostly lead-glazed to make it imporous. In spite of the existence of regional types, it all bears a family resemblance in so far as it never strays very far from the simple type of pottery that can be made by hand or with the help of a potter's wheel. It seems to have been made throughout Europe, and was clearly sufficient for basic uses, but would have had little function as an item of display or decoration, or to demonstrate wealth.

However, finer types of pottery were known in medieval Europe, imported from the Middle East. In the early medieval period the Eastern worlds of Byzantium (the surviving Christian remnant of the Roman Empire, centred on Constantinople in present-day Turkey), and the Arab nations of Syria and Persia were greatly in advance of the Western Europe in respect of technology and wealth, with many large cities whose wealth was dependent on trade. It was only in the tenth century that the larger towns in Italy began to rival the great cities of the East, with a consequent increase in exchanges through trade (1). Certain parts of Europe began to import pottery decorated with 'tin-glaze', a technique that had arisen in Mesopotamia (present day Iraq) early in the 9th century. The technique consisted of dipping the once-fired ware into a lead glaze of which the main ingredients were potash, sand, and oxides of lead and tin; the

tin oxide remained suspended in the glaze and, on firing, turned the vessel white, so that it resembled porcelain, which was known from imports from China. This tin-glazed ware was liable to chip easily, but had the advantage that the glaze did not run, as was often the case in a lead-glaze. This meant that over this glaze other minerals could be applied which, when fired, produced decoration of different colours.

By the middle of the century the range of colours included a blue overglaze produced by cobalt oxide, which resembled the underglaze blue of Chinese porcelain, and in the tenth century copper and manganese oxide were used to produce the colours of green, purple or brown-black. These early wares were imported into Western Europe via the trading routes and were first imitated in Southern Italy and Sicily. The latter area had a considerable Muslim population, and may even have employed Muslim craftsmen from Tunisia (2). The wares they produced were relatively simple, comprising mostly tall jars and bowls. A cobalt and manganese two-colour ware from Maghreb was imported into Italy at the end of the 12th century, whilst in the southern Italian regions of Apulia and Sicily a polychrome style of decoration was being produced, using overglazes of copper, manganese, iron, antimony, yellow and cobalt. This was the origin of the elaborately coloured Italian tin-glazed earthenware that is so famous today (3).

Tin-glaze earthenware seems to have been made in many places in Italy. It must have been expensive as the tin had to be imported from Devon or Cornwall in England (4). The earliest types seem to bear some relationship to Arabic pottery, including tall drug jars (albarelli) and a type of small bowl with a rounded well and a wide flat rim (tondino), and the tagliera, a flat-based dish with steep shallow sides opening to a wide rim. However, other shapes seem specifically Italian, such as the pear-shaped jug on a rounded foot with deep indentations on either side of the lip, tall jugs about 30 cm high, and a small broad footless jug with a large applied spout (panata). The handles of Italian jugs are different from those on the rest of the Continent, in that they are generally raised slightly above the rim of the vessels and descend almost vertically to the shoulder. There was also a special type of drug-jar which resembled a baluster pot with two handles protruding from the middle. In the 15th century this was refined with a pedestal-foot and a lid to produce an elegant kind of vase (5).

The earliest Italian tin-glaze wares are known as 'archaic' and are often decorated in the naturalistic Gothic style using the colours of manganese-purple and green, or purple alone, the motifs being natural objects such as stylized leaves, birds, heads and simple geometric forms (fig 1). The background is

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1) Reconstructed fragments of a jug and plate in the archaic style. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Probably Florence, 14th century. From the exhibition Firenze alla Tavola,



frequently cross-hatched in order to make the main motifs more prominent. This type is associated with finds at Siena, Orvieto, Faenza and elsewhere. In the 15th century the motif was sometimes enclosed in a compartment, following examples of Syrian or Persian earthenware, and inscriptions and trailing leaves copied from Arabic examples began to appear. It should be emphasized that tin-glaze wares were expensive and most pottery made in Italy was still simple lead-glazed ware, often in the form of incised slipwares, with the pattern cut through the white slip to reveal the red clay below, with blotches of green and brown emphasizing the pattern below (6).

An interesting aspect of this trade was the use and copying of bowls (bacini) in architectural decoration. The practice centred on the port of Pisa, in Tuscany, and was also prevalent at nearby Lucca, at Rome, and elsewhere. Bacini were set into the facades of public buildings, such as churches and bell-towers, often inbetween the corbel arcading. The stones were carefully cut around to fit the bowls exactly. These ceramics are thus almost precisely dateable; the practice seems to have been at its height from the 12th to the early 14th century (7).

Italian tin-glazed earthenware is today called 'maiolica': the word is derived from the name of the Spanish island of Majorca, where much Moorish tin-glazed earthenware made at

Valencia and Malaga was trans-shipped in the 15th century. In the 15th and 16th centuries it apparently referred to pottery made there decorated additionally with metallic oxides (lustreware) (8), which was also made at Manises in Valencia and Malaga. This comprised painted decoration of silver, copper or sulphur oxides, which was painted onto the glaze and 'reduced' to a metallic golden colour by a second or third firing in a low oxygen kiln. Large vases and plates were commonly made, and exported throughout Europe. This kind of pottery was certainly known in fifteenth century Italy, most famously perhaps in Filippino Lippi's Annunciation of 1483-4 at San Gimignano, or Hugo van der Goes' Adoration of the Shepherds painted for the Florentine Tomaso Portinari and given to Santa Maria Novella in about 1475. Some Spanish lustreware even bears the arms of noble Italian families, such as the magnificent tall vases with handles in the British Museum which bear the coat-of-arms of the Florentine Giuliano Gondi (1421-1501) or Piero de Medici (after 1465) (fig 2) (9). Other lustre wares are decorated with Christian symbols, such as the IHS emblem, and are thus clearly made for export.

Although maiolica seems to have been made over many places in Italy, centres of manufacture seem to fall into two categories. Production can be divided between 'pottery' towns

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2) Jar bearing the stemma (coat-of-arms) of Piero de' Medici (d.1469). Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue, yellow, purple and gold lustre. Probably Manises, Valencia, after 1465. Height 57 cm. British Museum, London (BM Godman Bequest, 1983, G 619)

whose main industrial production was pottery, such as Deruta, Faenza, Castelli, and Montelupo, which have almost continuous histories of pottery production from Medieval times to the present day. Other, more ambitious, wares are associated with the large towns and centres of culture such as Florence, Siena, Naples, Venice, and the small princely town of Urbino. Relatively few of any of these wares are documented, and attributions to one of the centres often made on the basis of locally excavated items, or items, such as tiled floors, which have remained in situ, or even - as in the case of Venice - been dredged up from the lagoon. Generally it would appear that more artistically ambitious individual pieces of high quality were made in, or for patrons from, the large towns, whereas the pottery towns made large quantities of more routine wares bearing similar decoration of lesser quality. However, there was an enormous amount of interchange, with individual painters moving from town to town, and to this extent it is possible to posit a general stylistic development for Italian maiolica, describing workshops and centres at their peak of their influence.

The major pottery centres of 15th century Italy appear to have been Pesaro and Faenza, which developed certain local styles of decoration, such as a broad-leaf type decoration of Gothic foliage, which are also found at Pesaro. However, the most innovative centre in the 15th century seems to have been Florence in Tuscany, where potters copied motifs derived from

Hispano-Moresque lustreware, such as the flower design and the leaf pattern, but in simple colours as they could not then get the effect of lustreware (10). They also copied the spiky mudejar leaf-patterns of Valencia, but rather than being painted in solid colour, they were outlined and filled with graded tones of pigment (11). For the period 1420-40 there exist a number of large dishes painted with heraldic animals, with an obvious debt to Hispano-Moresque prototypes, and with a rich background devised of small leaves and flowers.

Florence is best known for the remarkable series of 'oak-leaf' drug-jars (albarelli) in which the motif is painted in cobalt blue against a background of serrated leaves and stalks—the 'oak-leaves' of the name. A large number are known with a crutch painted under the handles, which are thought to be from the series of over 1000 made by Giunta di Tugio for the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in 1430-1 (fig 3) (12). The technique appears to have been imitated at a number of other pottery centres.

By the 1470 and 80s both Florence and Faenza had advanced beyond the basic colours of cobalt blue, copper green and manganese brown to include several shades of yellow and orange

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3) Selection of drug-jars. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in manganese and blue. Height of the albarello on the right 32.8cm. Florence (possibly workshop of Giunta di Tugio), c.1450. The British Museum, London

from mixtures of antimony and iron, olive greens from copper and antimony, a turquoise blue from copper and soda, a mauve-purple from cobalt and manganese, which created a range of colours with which Italian maiolica painters could explore styles and methods of decoration which went far beyond Hispano-Moresque ware (13). At Faenza, for instance, there appeared 'Persian palmettes' or decoration in polychrome colours based on peacock feathers (fig 4), though much Faenza maiolica remained predominantly blue in tone. Similarly, at Florence the 'bryony-flower' style of decoration was copied in orange rather than lustre, as the Italians had not yet mastered this technique (14). However, the painters of maiolica in Italy were quite different in spirit to their Spanish cousins. Their work shows a planned use of motifs, and a capacity to measure up the plate to incorporate a balanced design, and it is clear that they were using drawn designs before they put paint brush to the pottery (15).

The great advance in ceramic decoration and design came not so much from the development of new colours and pigments, as from developments in the fields of printing and paper-making. Innovations in these fields were to alter not just the design of ceramics, but the whole basis of Western design and the transmission of images, and enable us to trace a common thread-

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4) Jug with decoration in imitation of peacock feathers in imitation of Faenza ware. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Cafaggiolo, Florence, c.1515. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

the development of fashionable taste - within them. It is difficult for us to realise just how difficult it must have been for artisans and craftsmen to gain access to new images before the invention and refinement of printing. Imagery could of course be drawn from religious images, or stained glass, coats-of-arms, or pattern books drawn on vellum (sheepskin) (16). However, the most obvious motifs were, as we have seen, naturalistic motifs which could be copied from nature or transcribed in simple patterns, often as decoration on objects. To get some idea of the scarcity of images, and the value of new ones, a copybook of registered trademarks was sold in Milan in 1383, which featured four crowned heads (one full-face and three in profile) and a fifth, of a helmet with two plumes (17).

Figurative images which suggest the transmission of the images via paper first occur on Italian pottery from the mid 15th century onwards. From central Italy we have a whole series of large plates decorated with figures in court dress in the international Gothic style; the body of the plate was covered with a liquid slip which has been scraped away to reveal the design, the whole being covered in a transparent lead glaze. The design was often heightened with colours which tended to run into the glaze to produce an uneven effect (18). The main centres of production seem to have been the great cities of Northern and central Italy, Venice, Padua, Ferrara and Bologna, cities which are particularly associated with the Gothic Court style of

Gentile da Fabriano (c.1385-1427) and Pisanello (c.1395-1455). The designs are very difficult to date, as they seem to have been made over a long period, and can presumably only be understood by reference to developments in court fashion (fig 5).

Such developments tended to lead to a style of maiolica that is predominantly pictorial, where the surface of the ware is used as a basis for a single composition. The increasing pictorial style has been christened in Italy stile bello (beautiful style), featuring human portraits, animal and other motifs, and to this extent the design and at this point decoration of maiolica becomes an aspect of the art of the Renaissance. The most-often quoted example are the hexagonal tiles in the church of San Petronio, Bologna, which bear a date 1487; each tile bears a central device surrounded by an elaborate border, comprising masks, trophies, musical weapons, shields, badges and religious symbols, often painted to suggest relief, with the suggestion of architecture. It is not clear from where many of these figures derive; for instance, a series of profile portraits on a series of tall abarelli (drug jars) has recently been attributed to Naples, as they appear to reflect portraits of the Royal family which had appeared on bronze medals (19).

The great impetus to this development of Italian maiolica

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5) Dish, reddish earthenware, transparent glaze, coated in slip with an incised design. Probably Ferrara, c.1480-1510. Diameter 40cm. British Museum, London (MLA 1855,12-1,70)

seems to have been the development of print-making in Italy in the 15th century. This was directly based on their traditions of silversmithing; the first prints, niello engravings, were taken from engraved silver plates which were filled with a black substance called nigellum. Alternatively, sulphur casts could be taken of these latter. The technique seems to have been developed by Maso Finiguerra in Florence from about 1445 into the 1460s. Engravings also began to be made on copper, in two distinct manners: the 'fine' manner, with narrow grooves in the plates, which was developed by Baccio Baldini in Florence, but had the disadvantage of wearing away quickly, and the 'broad' or coarser manner, developed by Francesco Roselli, which could produce many more impressions (20). The dissemination of visual ideas was also helped by the use of woodcuts as book illustration: the first recorded use of woodcuts in a book is the Meditationes of Cardinal Torquemada, published in Rome in 1467. Their use soon spread to the great printing centres of Florence and Venice (21).

It was not long before pottery painters began to use details from prints in their designs, using them with much intelligence and adaptation, although it has proved surprisingly difficult to trace early (pre-1500) examples of the use of prints. The earliest are possibly the twelve maiolica roundels painted with men at work representing the months in the Victoria and Albert Museum attributed to Luca della Robbia (1400-82), the sculptor who habitually used the maiolica technique for his sculptures;



they may date from 1450-6, but do not seem to have led to a trend in pictorial maiolica (22). Some early plates, also in the Victoria & Albert Museum, attributed to Deruta are decorated with animals derived from niello prints by Maso Finiguerra (23). Human figures also began to occur on painted maiolica, for instance the running figure of a man on a dish attributed to Deruta in the British Museum (24), and a group of plates with pictorial centres are associated with the marriage of Matthew Corvinus of Hungary and Beatrice d'Este in 1476 (25). Three undated plates attributed to Deruta bear versions of the Labours of Hercules derived, presumably via engravings, from Antonio Pollaiuolo (c.1432-1498) (26). Certainly plates were being used as the basis for pictorial composition of a very high order very shortly after the beginning of the 16th century: a plate attributed to Castel Durante painted with a central panel of nymphs bathing overlooked by a satyr is dated on the back 17th November 1503; this is one of the earliest known date for a plate showing a narrative scene (fig 6) (27). Other sources that could be used include medals and plaquettes (28).

Thus by the turn of the century, maiolica was becoming a product for the wealthy, individually designed and painted, and reflecting developments in painting and sculpture. Even as great a collector as Lorenzo de Medici compared tin-glazed earthenware

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6) Dish. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Diameter 28.8cm. Possibly Castel Durante, Italy. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (C.36-1989)

to the work of silversmiths or jewelers (29). It was Medici influence which led to the first pottery workshop which seems to have made artistically ambitious pottery, when in 1498 a maiolica workshop was set up in the Medici villa at Caffagiolo by two potters from Montelupo, Stefano and Piero di Filippo. Their products seemed to be signed SP, even after Stefano's death in about 1507. This workshop produced some of the finest maiolica of the early Renaissance, creating pieces that reflect developments made in painting and sculpture in Florence itself. For instance, a round plate in the Victoria and Albert Museum is painted with a representation of Donatello's St. George; he stands in a carefully painted background of rocks and trees, with a lake behind, and may show Donatello's statue when it still held a lance in hand. An even more beautiful dish is painted with Diana and Endymion, in a style is very close to that of Botticelli or his pupil Filippino Lippi, and there can be little doubt that in some way they provided designs (fig 7) (30). Other plates of first quality shows the Triumph of David (dated 1513) or Judith with the head of Holofernes; or a magnificent plate painted with an allegorical scene of a wolf and a bear fighting, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (31). These pieces, although careful in composition and finely painted, are slight retardaire in style, and do not show the influence of artists of the High

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7) Plate painted with a scene of Diana and Endymion. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Mark: SP in circles. Diameter 26cm. Caffaggiolo, c.1510. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon

Renaissance, such as Leonardo and Michelangelo.

The status of the maiolica painter in this workshop can be gauged by a dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum of about 1510, which shows him seated with his bowls of colours in front of a fashionably dressed couple, the woman possibly having her portrait painted (fig 8). It is clear that the painter regarded himself as equal to his fashionably dressed clients, having his own skills and abilities which were worthy of respect. It should be stressed that this is unlikely to be a true representation of the working practice of a maiolica painter, but it does convey something of their hoped-for status for their better work (32).

Another centre of fine maiolica was the Tuscan town of Siena. Here the best maiolica seems to centre around a commission from the tyrant Pandolfo Petrucci, who in about 1509 commissioned a group of distinguished Renaissance artists, including Luca Signorelli (1441(?)–1523), Pintoricchio (c.1481–1513) and Gherardo Genga (c.1476–1551), to decorate a room in the Palace with frescoes depicting scenes from Classical history. The floor was covered in maiolica tiles, now split between various museums, whose design are thought to due to Pintoricchio. He was a minor Umbrian painter whose name is associated with the

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8) Plate painted with a scene of a maiolica painter at work. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Mark: SP in circles. Diameter 23.5cm. Cafaggiolo, c.1510. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

revival of a particular style of Roman painted interior decoration called the grotesque, named after the decoration found in the underground excavations (grottoes) of the Golden House of Nero in Rome. Such decoration first appears in the work of Pinturicchio in his now lost frescoes in the Castel San Angelo in about 1495, and most famously, in his decorations for the Piccolomini Library in Siena of 1502 (33). It was a fanciful style of decoration which showed a variety of motifs, men and mythological creatures intertwined amid foliage in vertical format without any attempt to give any suggestion of depth or solid support for the motifs, a style of decoration much criticized by the Roman architectural theorist Vitruvius (34). Such grotesque decoration appears on the rim of a magnificent dish in the British Museum which bears a central scene of Pan playing his pipes with the arms of Petrucci (died 1512) (fig 9) (35).

It would appear also that the figurative decoration of this room was something of a catalyst for the design of Italian maiolica, centred on the great pottery town of Faenza. The designs of Girolamo Genga in the Petrucci Palace were copied in circular format in an album dated 1516 now in Lille Museum attributed to the Classicizing artist Jacopo Ripanda (active

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9) Plate bearing the arms of Pandolfi Petrucci (d.1512). Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Siena, c.1510. The British Museum, London (MLA 1855,12-1,114)

c.1490-1530) (fig 10), suggesting use for plates, and indeed a dish attributed to Faenza in the British Museum (fig 11) (36) is painted with such a scene from Classical history. They show the origins of the colouring that was to become so general; oranges and browns, with an attempt to represent the setting sun in the background in the manner of Venetian landscape painting. Faenza was also the origin of an important decorative technique, the famous white-on-white (bianco sopra bianco); in fact, white on a bluish-tinted background, which appeared about 1520, and was much used for border decoration.

Painters at Faenza used another source of designs which lay in the print-making revolution which was taking place North of the Alps, led by the artists Martin Schongauer (c.1445-91) and Albrecht Durer (1471-1528). Durer published his great woodcut of the Apocalypse in 1498, to be followed by the woodcuts of the Large Passion, the Small Passion, and the Life of the Virgin in 1511 (37). These prints came to be used by maiolica painters south of the Alps (38), and a plate in the British Museum bears a scene copied from Martin Schongauer's Death of the Virgin as engraved by Israel Van Meckenem (39). Similarly a beautiful Cafaggiolo dish in the British Museum is composed of two Durer

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10) Drawing after a fresco by Girolamo Genga, attributed to Jacopo Ripanda. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille

11) Dish. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Faenza, possibly Casa Pirota, c.1520-25. British Museum, London (MLA 1855, 12-1, 83)

prints, the figures from the Satyr family and the landscape background from Hercules at the Crossroads, but the whole bound together in a way which commands respect for the painter (40).

The other great centre of pottery production in Italy was Deruta, close to Perugia, which had been listed as a pottery centre as early as 1358, when large quantities of pottery were supplied to the Convent of St. Francis of Assisi (41). Here the artistic style was heavily influenced by local religious symbols and artists, seen most obviously on the decoration of large plates (piatti da pompa) with a central panel of a Saint, the Virgin or an angel set in segmental panels. The artistic style of such pieces shows close links with the work of the Umbrian painter Pietro Perugino (before 1469-1523). A dish in the British Museum records a version of the Nativity which often occurs in the work of Perugino, who used cartoons to disseminate his ideas. Another standard type of ware made at Deruta consists of a border divided into segments, surrounding a portrait of a Classical profile of a beautiful young woman (fig 12). The painting is often surrounded by blue, with the pattern design in yellow lustreware. This can be of leafy palmettes or scale pattern, which the great ceramic historian Bernard Rackham saw as derivative of designs from Siena (42). Many of these wares are

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12) Dish with a profile portrait of a woman inscribed SOLA.SPERACA.ELMO.COR.TE.NE. ('Sola speranza el mio cor tene'-my heart has only hope). Tin-glazed earthenware painted in greyish-blue and gold lustre. Deruta, c.1500-25. Diameter 38.9cm. The Wallace Collection, London (III A 56)

lustred, in the style popularized by Spanish earthenware (43).

However, the whole history of maiolica painting was soon to be turned by artistic events in Rome. In the period 1510-20 the great painter Raphael (1483-1520) was active in Rome, painting his great cycle of frescoes in the Vatican in which the Classicizing style reached its fullest development. Many of Raphael's designs were propagated through the means of prints, and he was the first artist to use printmaking as a way of spreading his ideas and produced compositions, such as The Massacre of the Innocents, specifically for engraving. His chief engraver was the Venetian Marcantonio Raimondi, whose prints were a major factor in the propagation of Raphael's style throughout the world (44).

The dissemination of prints after Raphael seems to have been the main catalyst for the decisive development of the istoriato (storytelling) style. Here, the whole plate (or virtually the whole plate) was treated as a canvas; borders were reduced to little or nothing. The central panel depicted a religious or classical scene adapted from a print source, often with the name of the scene inscribed on the reverse of the plate. The colours ran the whole gamut possible in tin-glazed earthenware; blue (cobalt oxide), green (copper oxide), yellow (antimony), orange (antimony and iron) and purple and brown from manganese. The result was a flowering of artistic talent which

revealed itself in the permanent form of maiolica painting.

The centre for good-quality istoriato painting in the style of Raphael seems to have been the Ducal Court of Urbino and the neighbouring pottery town of Castel Durante. This latter town was not unknown to the makers of fine maiolica; attractive signed plates with grotesque border decoration on a dark ground had been made in Castel Durante as early as 1508 by Zouamaria Vro, who was probably the documented potter Giovanni Maria di Mariano, and a major workshop for the making of maiolica had been set up in Urbino by Guido Durantino from before 1520 (45). It would appear that the period around 1520 was crucial for the development of Italian maiolica; certainly a series of well-painted dishes are painted with large static figures (46) suggest that at this point the painters could have aimed at grand, monumental effect rather than the small-scale narrative that became general. However, a decisive move took place towards small-scale, delicate figure painting showing a particular moment in the narrative took place at this time.

The main exponent of istoriato maiolica painting seems to have been a painter called Nicola da Urbino. The known facts relating to him are very few. He is probably the Nicola di Gabriele Sbraga recorded in Urbino from 1520 who died in 1537/38. He was described as maestro in 1520, meaning that he had his own workshop, and links are recorded with another workshop owner,



Guido Durantino. In 1521 he signed a dish now in the Hermitage, Leningrad, and in 1528 a dish painted with The Martyrdom of St. Cecilia after a print after Raphael by Marcantonio Raimondi in the Bargello, Florence. At one time he was thought to be identical to Guido's father, Nicolo Pelliparius (or Pellipario), who, however, was dead by 1511 (47). Nicola himself is recorded as dead by 1538 (48).

His first works known to us that based on a stylistic attribution alone: a series of seventeen plates, clearly intended as part of a service, in the Correr Museum, Venice. The scenes depicted include subjects from Ovid's Metamorphoses, the legends of King Solomon, the Four Seasons and the Italian novella of Ottinello and Giulia. The general tonality of the works is blue, similar to works attributed to Faenza, but the level of painting skill is much higher. Certain plates, such as Solomon Adoring an Idol or Solomon, the Young Man and the Harlot show a knowledge of Classical Renaissance architecture in the form of the works of Raphael's friend and mentor, Bramante. However, the series as a whole looks back to the 15th century and in particular to the woodcuts that occur in the Venice edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses of 1497 (49); for instance, the scenes of Orpheus and the Beasts and The Death of Orpheus are closely based on compositions of the woodcuts of the 1497 Ovid, republished in Venice in 1508 (50). However, Nicola has effectively updated them in a broader figure style, which shows knowledge of developments in painting in Rome.

Shortly after painting this series, Nicola's style began a broadening which brought him right up to date and in touch with developments in Renaissance painting. In particular, he adopted the palette of colours of Faenza including brown and orange, and began to depict figures naked or in Classical dress, rather than the dress of the early 16th century which appears in the Correr plates. The plate of 1521 in the Hermitage, Leningrad, shows a figure in Classical guise against an architectural background derived from Classical Rome. The series of plates in the 'Flag and Ladder' series, probably painted for the Calini family of Brescia, again include subjects from Classical and Christian sources, including the Metamorphoses and St. George and the Dragon, but this time the figures are wholly Classical in garb, if not actually naked. Much of this change seems to be due to the influence of Raphael; for instance, the fleeing princess in the plate of St. George and the Dragon is clearly derived from the figure in Raphael's painting of 1505 in the Louvre, and even the architecture, with its circular temples, shows knowledge of Bramante's Tempietto in Rome (51).

In about 1524-5 he is thought to have painted a service intended as gift from the Duchess of Urbino to her mother Isabella d'Este, who had already shown an interest in fine maiolica; for instance in the series of plates she ordered via Alfonso Trotti of Ferrara of 1518 (52). There survive twenty one

plates and dishes painted by Nicola, bearing Isabella's coat-of-arms and a selection of her personal devices or imprese. These occur in the centre, or sometimes worked into the scene. In some plates there is also a delicate anthemion pattern in white enamel on the white ground between the rim and the centre, as found in the Correr plates, which occurs on the very large dishes and the medium size plates. The range of subjects again include Classical and biblical scenes, including some subjects from Ovid, which also occur on the other two services, such as 'Peleus and Thetis', 'Apollo and Marsyas' (fig 13), and 'Apollo, Pan and Midas'. Again Nicola seems to have used the Venice Ovid of 1497 as a source for compositions, as in the scene of Apollo and Marsyas (fig 14), but with the clothed figures of the book illustration changed to nudes in the plate (53). Some of Nicola's scenes may derive directly from Raphael's greatest pupil, Giulio Romano, who worked at Mantua from 1524 onwards (54), and is recorded as providing designs for maiolica tiles in 1528, or possibly that Nicola even had first hand knowledge of Raphael's studio, as he seems to have knowledge of at least one of Raphael's drawings (55).

The range of Nicola's subjects seem quite miscellaneous and

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13) Plate painted with a scene of Apollo and Marsyas. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Urbino, workshop of Nicola da Urbino, c.1525. Wernher Collection, Luton Hoo.

14) Illustration from the 1497 edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses.

devoid of any greater programme, and since, they are all dependent on Italian rather than Latin sources, it is thought that Nicola derived them himself from his own knowledge of the Classics. Many of the plates are inscribed on the back with a description of the scene; generally they are drawn from well-known classical or religious imagery, and it would probably be a mistake to attempt to read too much into the choice of scene or scenes appearing on the same service. In general the artist attempts to tell the story as simply as possible, depicting several events in the same plate in the manner of the book illustrations that were frequently his sources. These plates by Nicola may seem crude by comparison with the best of Italian painting, but he may have intended some considered meaning to them, stressing the storia (narrative) aspect of the design rather than that of composition. Painting had been divided into storia (history/narrative) and comporre (composition) by theoreticians as early as the 14th century, but it was the great writer Leon Battista Alberti (1404-72) who united the two by describing the process of compositio as a process of putting together a composition from several figures, chosen for their suitability as personifications of the individuals in the scene with or without attributes. The key scene that Alberti quotes is the Calumny of Apelles, a subject which Nicola painted at least twice (56). The patron would have commissioned the scenes, or the artist would have chosen some easily-understood scene from history, which provided an exemplary lesson in human conduct, but

it is unlikely that there was any great underlying theme or meaning to the depictions throughout the whole service (57).

In 1528 Nicola signed a dish now in the Bargello, Florence, painted with the Martyrdom of St. Cecilia copied from a print after Raphael. This can be seen as part of a trend whereby maiolica became less inventive, and more directly dependent on printed sources. It is one of a number of plates inscribed In Botega di Maestro Guido Durantino (In the workshop of Maestro Guido Durantino); Guido Durantino appears to have run one of the leading maiolica workshops in Urbino in the 16th century. Pieces so inscribed dated from 1528 to 1542, and include two important services made for the Frenchmen the Constable Anne de Montmorency and Cardinal Antoine Duprat (58). In 1530 Guido Durantino was party to a dispute between maiolica painters and the workshop owners (capi-botegga), according to which the workshop owners (including Nicola da Urbino) agreed to act together to resist claims for wage increases from a group of maiolica painters on pain of a fine of 25 gold ducats for acting without the consent of the other owners (59).

Amongst the rebellious painters listed in this document is a certain Francesco da Rovigo. This would appear to be none other than the painter Francesco Xanto Avelli da Rovigo, who began to sign his work after this date, possibly to assert his individual status as a maiolica painter. His origins are unclear; he could

be the painter who signed his work FR or FLR in the 1520s, or inscribed the title of pieces with a peculiar diagonal stroke on the final a (60). He was clearly a painter of some pretensions, who wrote poetry in praise of Francesco Maria I, Duke of Urbino, which allude to events dating from 1509 to 1538. These enable us to put his birth date back to c.1486-7, making him a contemporary of Nicola rather than a follower (61). He often shows knowledge of poetry; for a service painted for the Pucci family he draws on Virgil's Aeneid, Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, Ovid's Metamorphoses and Heroides, Petrarch's Rime, Pliny's Historia naturalis, Valerius Maximus's I fatti e detti, Justin's epitome of Trogus Pompeius's Historiae philippicae (62). He often added complicated inscriptions explaining the subject of his work on the back of his plates, and some of his plates even bear depictions of his own poems (63).

Xanto's technique of composition is quite different from Nicola's (and the quality of painting less good), in that he seems to have been almost totally dependent on prints as sources for his figures. However, his technique was not always to simply copy the whole engraving, but to select certain figures from a print and combine them with others. It is not clear how he did this, but the scale of the figures on the plates is that of the prints themselves, and it may be that he had cut-outs, or tracings of the figures in the prints, which he then distributed on the plate surface and pricked or traced around preparatory to

painting. The same figures recur time and time again on plates, with attempts to disguise their origin by adding drapery, or turning them round through 90 degrees. A favourite source of prints was Giulio Romano's erotic engravings, I Modi, which depict figures in contorted poses of love-making; they can often be traced in his designs, often clothed and completely divorced from their salacious origin.

A good idea of Xanto's range and skills can be seen from his most ambitious plate, the great Triumph of Alcyone plate in the Wallace Collection in London (fig 15). It is inscribed and signed and dated on the back M.D.XXXIII/ Triumpha qui Nettu nelle salse onde/Su le qual gode lamorosa Stella/ Ignuda fra suoi figli, e, uaga, e, bella/Vien coronata de fioretti, e, fronde/ Fra; Xanto, A./da Rovigo I/ Urbino [Neptune triumphs here in the salt waves on which the amorous, naked Star rejoices between her sons and, fair and lovely, comes crowned with flowers and leaves] (64). At least ten different prints were used in its production, including Venus on the sea by Marco da Ravenna after Raphael (fig 16), The Slaying of Cerebus by Giovanni Giacomo Cargilio after Rosso, and a figure in reverse on the right of The Massacre of

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15) Plate painted with The Triumph of Alcyone. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Urbino, by Francesco Xanto Avelli da Rovigo, dated 1533. Diameter 48cm. The Wallace Collection, London (III B 92)

16) Engraving of Venus Rising from the Sea by Marco Dente da Ravenna after Raphael

the Innocents by Marco da Ravenna after Bandinelli (fig 17). The differences in scale of the figures in the prints account for the differences in scale in the figures in the plates, suggesting that Francesco used the images with little adaptation; the general impression of the plates is of a skilful, but slightly overripe, performance.

The general trend of istoriato painting on maiolica in mid century seems to have been heavily dependent on the simple copying of prints, though a great deal of adaptation in the manner of Xanto took place. For instance, the three figures a plate in the British Museum depicting the Expulsion of Adam and Eve is dependent on three separate prints by Marcantonio, all adapted in such a way as to hide their original subject (65). Other painters who practiced the istoriato style with success include the putative Andrea da Negroponte and Balassare Manara and Virgiliotto Calamelli in Faenza. The majority of such plates are attributed to the workshops of Urbino, though it would appear that istoriato maiolica was made to some degree all over Italy.

The plate with the Expulsion of Adam and Eve was lustred in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio of Gubbio, probably a certain Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, who is thought to have worked at the little town of Gubbio in about 1490, who in 1498 was granted

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17) Detail from an engraving of The Massacre of the Innocents by Marco Dente da Ravennaa after Baccio Bandinelli.



citizenship of Gubbio and exemption from taxes. Much of his work seems to have taken the form of adding highlights in red or gold lustre to already painted maiolica, including that of Xanto, though some works, such as those by Francesco Urbini, seem to have been painted in Gubbio itself. His work is often signed in lustre on the base MoGo and the earliest piece is dated 1515 (66). To our eyes these additions are not necessarily an advantage, especially as the quality of painting of many of the istoriato pieces were rather poor. However, he was so successful that in 1519, when his privileges were renewed, he was described in a brief from Pope Leo X as an excellent master without rival in the art of maiolica [i.e. lustreware], who work brings honour to the city, lord and people of Gubbio in all the nations to which this pottery of his workshop is exported, as well as the great income it brings in customs dues. In 1536 the kiln was made over to his sons Vincenzo and Ubaldo, who established a branch in Urbino itself (67).

Sometime in the 1540s the trend developed away from the creative individual maiolica painter, who used the surface of the dish as a vehicle for personal expression and composition, and towards a more mechanical copying of other people's designs that comprises the bulk of later istoriato maiolica. The trend seems to have started in Urbino, where well-developed maiolica workshops, allied with a high level of court culture, led to the creation of great services, designed by artists, intended as

diplomatic gifts from one ruler to another. Our first documented case of an artist supplying designs for maiolica, where the pieces can still be identified, is the great service sent by Duke Guidobaldo II of Urbino to the Emperor Charles V (1500-58) and his brother-in-law Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-89). The designs were by the minor Venetian painter Battista Franco (c.1498-1561), who had a certain facility for drawing, but had just unsuccessfully completed a fresco of The Coronation of the Virgin on the vault of the tribuna of Urbino cathedral, and so was moved to maiolica design. The service is presumed to date from the later 1540s, possibly connected with Guidobaldo's marriage to Vittoria Farnese in 1548.

There survive today a large number of drawings from Franco's hand for a service painted with scenes from The History of Troy (fig 18). A large number of related plates of varying quality also exist. The style is denser than anything formerly known on maiolica plates, with a rich border of putti at play framing a centre panel of a scene from Classical history. The dish with The Reception of Helen by King Priam in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig 19) is one of the finer pieces, and

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18) Design for Dish with the Reception of a Warrior by King Priam. Pen and wash. Battista Franco (1510-61). Diameter 27cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (2404)

19) Dish painted with The Reception of Helen by King Priam after Battista Franco. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Urbino, workshop of the Fontana, c.1545-51. Diameter 41 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (C.31-1973)

presumably from the original service, before the designs went into general currency and were adapted by other potters. A letter from the man of letters Pietro Aretino shows that Franco himself was interested in the technique of maiolica painting and the execution of a piece of this quality may be due to his pupil Camillio Gatti, a nephew of Guido Durantino, who, in 1544, on the occasion of his marriage, was described unusually as a potter or a painter (68). Vasari, the 16th century chronicler of art to whom we owe our information on this service, states that the potters were from Castel Durante, but this seems unlikely in view of the flourishing maiolica industry in Urbino itself. Other drawings by Franco and related plates are known with scenes from the life of Hercules. Another service was ordered in 1551 (69).

Franco's service was clearly judged a success, for in 1560 the Duke turned to another artist, Taddeo Zuccaro (1529-66), to provide designs for maiolica. Zuccaro had been called to Urbino to paint the portrait of the Duke's daughter on her marriage to Federico Borromeo in 1560, and Vasari tells us that before he left, he made all the drawings for a service which the Duke had carried out in earthenware at Castel Durante, as a present for King Philip of Spain. The service was recorded as complete on the 17th December, 1562, and described as bearing scenes from the life of Julius Caesar. The programme had been laid down by Muzio Giustino Politano.

Again a large number of drawings by Zuccaro and related plates had come down to us, but they are quite different in character from Franco's plates. The depiction of the scenes is more pictorial, more architectural, with a greater suggestion of depth and painterly quality. In some ways, they are less suited to maiolica than Franco's rather flat designs, as much of the subtlety of the design was lost when painted on the plates. But they represent an extremely culturally ambitious art form of the later 16th century (fig 20).

At this stage our knowledge of the making of maiolica and the working of the workshops receives a boost from a remarkable contemporary guide to the whole subject: the manuscript of Li tre libri dell'arte del vasaio (The Three Books of the Potter's Art) by the Durantine Cipriano Piccolpasso (c.1523/4-1579). Piccolpasso was a military engineer who undertook his book for the benefit of Cardinal Francois de Tournon, Bishop of Lyon, who died in 1562, which meant that the manuscript was never published. Its function was to act as a detailed survey of the pottery industry in Italy, presumably so that it could be emulated elsewhere. Piccolpasso described in great detail the collecting and the washing of the clays, the functioning of the kilns, the application of colours; he also includes some

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20) Interior of a wine-cooler. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Width 62cm. The Wallace Collection, London (III 30). Illustrated with a copy of a drawing by Taddeo Zuccaro that served as its model (The Royal Library, Windsor)

intriguing depictions of the potters at work (fig 21), showing them with prints or drawings pinned up as patterns behind them, as well as illustrations of different types of standard design (fig 22) (70).

Urbino was not the only centre of fine maiolica in 16th century Italy. Another great centre of maiolica production appears to have been Venice, though few documentary examples survive to record its productions. Certainly in 1520 Alfonso I d'Este of Ferrara was ordering a set of eleven drug-jars from Venice through no less a person than the artist Titian, who was at work on his paintings for his Alfonso's 'Camera'; Alfonso confessed himself well-pleased with the result. The main production of the town seems to have been incised slipwares of the kind that were made in the 15th century, and maiolica painted in blue and white with a blue-tinted glaze. A certain amount of istoriato painting was also done; the main workshop seems to have been that of Domenico da Veneziana (active 1547-1568) who is thought to have been responsible for a whole series of drug-jars painted with heads of pretty women (71).

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21) Depiction of maiolica painters at work, showing prints or drawings pinned up behind them, from the manuscript of Piccolpasso's Three Books of the Potters Art. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

22) Drawing of different types of ceramic design, from Piccolpasso's Three Books of the Ceramic Art. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

By the second half of the 16th century, the use of prints for the decoration of Italian maiolica had become rather tired and lacking in invention, most painters apparently wanting to simply adapt a oblong print to a round dish. More interesting was the origin of what today is called the stile compendario, where most of the vessel is left white with a few sketchy designs painted on in blue or with other colours. The main centre of production is thought to be Faenza. Such pottery drew respect from the whole of Europe, on account of its whiteness and lightness (72), and were the prized possessions of Kings and Princes (73). The white wares were also made in the workshops of Vergiliotto Calamelli and Leonardo Battisi at Faenza, and later in pottery in Liguria, such as Albisola and Savona. This latter made wares painted in blue of a very high quality.

The art of maiolica painting travelled across the Alps, and took root in France, firstly in Rouen, where the Frenchman Masseot Abaquesne provided tiles panels for Constable Anne de Montmorency's Chateau at Ecouen in 1542. A contract of 1543 reveals that he agreed to supply four thousand drug-jars to an apothecary, some of which are thought to be identifiable with surviving items, painted with profile heads and a leaf and scroll background (74). Another great centre for painted tin-glaze ware was Lyons, where there was an established Italian community, and whose Cardinal Archbishop Tournon was, as we have seen, the patron of Piccolpasso. Work generally attributed to Lyons

includes plates decorated with scenes from the Quadrins historiques de la Bible by Bernard Saloman (Lyons, 1533), though an Italian edition, which would have led to their copying in Italy, was produced in 1554 (fig 23). Similarly an illustrated edition of Ovid by Saloman was produced in France in 1557 and Italy in 1559. Often the style of painting is sketchier (fig 24), though possibly the only way of distinguishing between those painted in France and those painted in Italy is the use of language on the back. The British Museum owns a plate painted with Aaron's rod inscribed on the back in Italian lla verga di farao in serpente and signed and dated 1582 GTVF leon (75).

The maiolica style of painting was continued by a group of Italian potters who moved to Nevers, between Lyons and Paris, under the patronage of Luigi Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers (1539-95). The impetus seems to have been the Italian potters Giulio Gambin from Lyon and Conrade brothers from Albisola, who started making pottery in the istoriato style about 1580. The most famous work is a large oval dish in the Louvre signed on the back Fesi a Nevrs 1589 (76). In 1603 the Conrade brothers received a monopoly from Henry II of France for making coloured and white ware in the manner of Faenza; the pottery continued to receive royal approval

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23) Woodcut of Zedekiah before Nebuchadnezzar from Quadrins Historiques de la Bible, Lyons, 1555

24) Dish painted with a scene of Zedekiah before Nebuchadnezzar. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Probably Lyons, c.1580-90. British Museum, London (MLA 1963, 11-5, 1)

in the mid 17th century, Antoine Corrade being appointed faïencier ordinaire to Louis XIV in 1644. However, the style continued the Italian istoriato style, using prints and drawings, well into the 17th century (77). Further South, tin-glazed ware was made at Nîmes, Montpellier and Barboone from about 1570-80. The best-known painter is Antoine Sigalon of Nîmes.

The technique of maiolica spread throughout the world, dominating the middle market for ceramics through to the end of the 18th centuries. Inevitably, it gained its strongest foothold where the market for Italian maiolica was strongest. In Spain important centres of figurative maiolica were Castile, Seville and Talavera, the latter assuming dominance in the 17th century (78). As time went by, the istoriato tradition became increasingly crude and provincial, and single decorative motifs, set against a white background in the manner of Faenza, became dominant.

However, the tradition of treating the plate surface as a vehicle for decoration survived and indeed flourished in the 17th century, though increasingly such plates were clearly intended for display. Magnificent plates showing men in fighting dress were made in Montelupo in Tuscany; the style of painting is quite sketchy which suggests they were not made for the highest market. Maiolica painters of the 17th century had access to a much wider range of prints than their forebears. Many were Flemish in



origin, such as those by the artists Goltzius, Sadleri, and Martin de Vos, whose illustrations to the Old Testament, published in 1590, were a popular source of imagery. One of the most dynamic centres for the production of istoriato maiolica was the small town of Castelli in L'Aquila, where Francesco Grue founded a dynasty of pottery painters who used prints as sources for decoration. His great contribution seems to have been the creation of a vigorous Baroque style of painting, with much use of the blue colours, best seen in a plaque of 1670 after Pietro da Cortona (79). In 1688 his son Carlo Antonio approached the minor decorative painter Francesco Bedeschini for designs for the borders, versions of which survive in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig 25) (80). This led to a border of putti amongst scrolling foliage that continued in use until the mid 18th century (fig 26). His son Francesco Antonio Xaverio Grue (1686-1746) continued the tradition into the 18th century, with the help of his sons.

Similar lavishly decorated maiolica was made at Siena by the painters Ferdinando Maria Campani (1702-71) and his rival Bartolomeo Terchi (1691-), using prints after the Bassano family; Terchi in fact worked for a time at the town of Bassano Romano in

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25) Design for a maiolica plate. Pen and brown ink, 57 x 57cm. Francesco Bedeschini, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

26) Plate painted with a scene of The Triumph of Bacchus after Pietro Testa. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Castelli, workshop of Carlo Antonio Grue, c.1690. Private Collection, Italy

Lazio (81). Bartolomeo's son may have worked at the pottery in the Hungarian town of Holitsch, where a pottery was set up by Francis of Lorraine in 1743, in whose Italian possessions the town of Castelli also lay. This seems to have sparked off the large surviving flowering of the istoriato style, using prints after such 17th century artists as Stefano della Bella (1610-64). His last recorded work is a crude painted plaque of Christ Carrying the Cross, signed and dated Viterbo (in Italy) in 1790 (82). This was positively the last gasp of a pictorial tradition whose origins lay at the very heart of the Italian Renaissance.

1.R.S.Lopez and I.W.Raymond, Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World, London, 1955, p.49

2.A.Caiger-Smith, Tin-glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World, London, 1973, p.83

3.J.D.Frierman, Medieval Ceramics: VI to XIII Centuries, University of California, 1975, p.17

4.T.Wilson, Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance, London, 1987, p.24

5.Caiger-Smith, op.cit., 1973, p.84

6.Caiger-Smith, op.cit., p.84

67.Frierman, Medieval Ceramics, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975, p.15

8.T.Wilson, Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance, London, 1987, p.28

9.Wilson, op.cit., nos.15,16

10.B.Rackham, Italian Maiolica, London, 1952, fig.10a

11.Caiger-Smith, op.cit., p.85

12.Wilson, op.cit., p.32

13. Caiger-Smith, op.cit., p.86
14. for a Florentine version of a Hispano-Moresque jug see T. Wilson, Maiolica: Italian Renaissance Ceramics in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1989, pp.12-13
15. for a moving account of the differences, see Caiger-Smith, op.cit., pp.88-89
16. see F. Ames-Lewis and J. Wright, Drawing in the Italian Renaissance Workshop, Nottingham and London, 1983, pp.95-101
17. R. S. Lopez and W. Raymond, op.cit., pp.124-5
18. S. Nepoti, Ceramiche Graffite della donazione Donini Baer, Faenza, 1991
19. G. Donatone, Maioliche napoletane della spezieria aragonese di Castelnuovo, Naples, 1970
20. J. A. Levenson et al, Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1972
21. F. Lippmann, The Art of Wood-Engravings in Italy in the 15th Century, London, 1888, pp.4-9
22. J. Pope-Hennessy, Luca della Robbia, Oxford, 1980, p.241
23. B. Rackham, 'The Sources of Design of Italian Maiolica', the Burlington Magazine, XXIII, 1913, pp.193-203
24. Wilson, op.cit., no.28
25. J. Pugliese, 'The Matthias Corvinus maiolica service', The Connoisseur, March, 1964, pp.151-3
26. G. Szabo, The Robert Lehman Collection, New York, 1975, figs.144-146
27. 'Acquisitions in the Victoria and Albert Museum Department of Ceramics and Glass 1987-89', The Burlington Magazine, CXXXII, May, 1990, p.384, no.II
28. B. Jestaz, 'Les Modeles de la Maiolique Historiee', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, LXXIX, 1972, pp.215-240, LXXXI, 1973, pp.109-128
29. W. Watson, Italian Renaissance Maiolica from the William A. Clark Collection, London, 1986, p.29
30. G. Cora and A. Fanfani, La maiolica di Cafaggiolo, Florence, 1982, nos.7 and 5

31. Cora, op.cit., nos. 10, 50, and 67

32. Cora, op.cit., no. 6

33. J. Schulz, 'Pintoricchio and the Revival of Antiquity', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 25, 1962, pp. 47-55

34. It was criticized by the Classical author Vitruvius in the following terms: On the stucco are monsters rather than definite representations taken from definite things. Instead of columns there rise up stalks; instead of gables, striped panels with curled leaves and volutes. Candelabra uphold picture shrines, and above the summit of these, clusters of thin stalks with heads of men and animals attached to half the body... Such things neither are, nor can be, nor have been. E.H. Gombrich, The Sense of Order, London, 1979, p. 20

35. T. Wilson, Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance, London, 1987, no. 134

36. Wilson, op.cit., no. 184

37. ed. C.W. Talbot, Durer in America: His Graphic Work, New York, 1971

38. L. Moszaros, 'Italianisches Majoliken und ihre Beziehung zur deutschen Druckgrafik des 16. Jahrhunderts', Kunstspiegel, Nuremberg, 1, 1979, pp. 47-58

39. Wilson, op.cit., no. 40

40. P. Collins, 'Prints and the Development of istoriato Painting on Italian Renaissance Maiolica', Print Quarterly, IV, 3, pp. 223-235

41. Wilson, op.cit., p. 91

42. B. Rackham, 'A New Chapter in the History of Italian Maiolica', The Burlington Magazine, XXVII, pp. 28-35

43. The work is commented on by Leandro Alberti in his Description of the Whole of Italy, published in 1550: The earthenwares made here are renowned for being made to look as if they were gilt. It is such an ingenious technique that up to now no other workman in Italy has been found to equal them, although attempts and experiments have often been made. They are called Majorica wares. Wilson, op.cit., p. 91

44. 'Possibly no other printmaker has had as great an influence upon the development of the arts as Marcantonio. His prints were circulated far and wide; they were eagerly sought after for generations because they carried the attitudes and ideals of the

High Renaissance, especially of Raphael and the members of his circle, to all parts of the civilized world' .Shoemaker, op.cit, p.xi

45.J.V.G.Mallet, 'In Botega di Maestro Guido Durantino', Burlington Magazine, CXXIX, June, 1987, p.285

46.Wilson, op.cit., nos.66,67

47.J.Mallet, 'In Botega di Maestro Guido Durantino in Urbino', Burlington Magazine, CXXIX, June, 1987, p.284

48.Mallet, 1987, op.cit., p.286

49.H.Wallis, XVII Plates by Nicola Fontana da Urbino at the Correr Museum Venice A Study in Early XVIth Century Maiolica, London, 1905

50.Wallis, op.cit., figs 2,3,14,15

51.B.Rackham, 'Nicola Pellipario and Bramante', The Burlington Magazine, LXXXVLL, 1945, pp.144-148

52.in the end Trotti ordered two sets, one from Faenza and one from Venice. T.Wilson, 'Maiolica in Renaissance Venice', Apollo, 125, 1987, pp.184-189

53.J.V.G.Mallet, 'Mantua and Urbino: Gonzaga Patronage of Maiolica', Apollo, 114, 1981, pp.162-169

54. The subject of Isaac and Rebecca is copied from the scene in Raphael's Loggia of 1517-19. It had not been engraved, and moreover shows knowledge of the colouring of the fresco, suggesting that possibly Nicola benefited from the advice of Raphael's pupil Giulio Romano, who was employed by the Court of Mantua from 1524 onwards. Mallet, 1981, op. cit., p.164

55.F.Ames-Lewis, 'Nicola da Urbino and Raphael', The Burlington Magazine, CXXX, September, 1988, pp.691-2

56.Wilson, op.cit., nos.49,50

57.C.Hope, 'Aspects of criticism in art and literature in sixteenth century Italy', Word and Image, 4, 1988, pp.1-10. c.f.his conclusion on p.8: Most sixteenth century painters do not often seem to have read classical Latin for pleasure. They preferred the translations of the Metamorphoses, which included at best only a small selection of the allegories, often very banal ones, such as the suggestion that the Flaying of Marsyas shows what happens when people place too much trust in their own powers and dare to challenge the Gods, or that the Rape of Europa was really the story of prince who came to seize a princess in a

ship called the Bull.

58.Mallet, 1981, op.cit., pp.284-295

59.Mallet, 1981, op.cit., p.286

60.Wilson, op.cit., p.52

61.J.V.G.Mallet, 'La Biografia di Francesco Xanto Avelli alla Luce dei Suoi Sonetti', Faenza, 70, 1984, pp.398-402

62.J.Triolo, 'L'Urbs e l'Imperatore: a proposal for the interpretation of the Pucci Service by Xanto Avelli' in ed.T.Wilson, Italian Renaissance Pottery, London, 1991, pp.36-43

63.Wilson, op.cit., no.75

64.A.V.B.Norman, 'Sources for the design on a majolica dish', Apollo, 81, 1965, pp.460-2

65.P.Collins, 1987, pp.230-1

66.see J.V.G.Mallet, Faenza, 65, pp.279-296

67.Wilson, op.cit., p.103

68.Mallet, op.cit., 1987, p.292

69.T.Clifford and J.V.G.Mallet, 'Battista Franco as a Designer of Maiolica', The Burlington Magazine, CXVIII, 1976, pp.387-410

70.J.V.G.Mallet, 'Maiolica at Polesden Lacey III: A new look at the Xanto Problem', Apollo, XCIII, pp.170-183

71.T.Wilson, 'Maiolica in Renaissance Venice', Apollo, 125, 1987, pp.184-189

72.This was observed by Montaigne on a journey to Italy in 1581: Considering the fineness of this earthenware which is so white and clean it seems like porcelain, I found it so cheap that it seems to me really pleasanter for the table than the pewter of France - particularly what one finds in inns, which is squalid. T.Wilson, op.cit., p.148

73.A service made for the Elector Johann Georg I.of Saxony, painted with his coat-of-arms and slight decorations in blue, survives in Dresden. G.Reinheckel, Fraechtvolle Service, Leipzig, 1989, p.13

74.Caiger-Smith, op.cit., p.105

75.Wilson, 1987; op.cit., no.257

76.Caiger-Smith, op.cit., p.106

77.see J.McNab, Seventeenth-Century French Ceramic Art, New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1987, pp.12-21

78.A.Frothingham, Talavera Pottery, New York, 1944; A. Ray, 'Renaissance Pottery in Seville', The Burlington Magazine, CXXXII, May, 1990, pp.343-4; 'Sixteenth-century pottery in Castile: a documentary study', The Burlington Magazine, CXXIII, May, 1991, pp.298-305

79.H.Coutts, 'Castelli Maiolica: The collection of Sir Brinsley Ford', Apollo, October, 1990, pp.250-5

80.H.Coutts, 'Francesco Bedeschini: Designer of Maiolica', Apollo, June, 1987,

81.E.Pelizzoni and G.Zanchi, La Maiolica dei Terchi, Florence, 1982

82.E.Pelizzoni and G.Zanchi, La Maiolica dei Terchi, Florence, 1982, p.125



### Chapter 3: 'Court Styles' of the Renaissance: Urbino maiolica, Saint-Porchaire and Palissy Ware

So far we have discussed maiolica as an aspect of Italian Renaissance, and later, painting; that is, the use of the relatively flat surface of a plate as a vehicle for a pictorial composition. However, we should also remember that these pieces of pottery presumably had some kind of utilitarian function. It is not clear to what extent they were made for everyday use on the dinner table, and to what extent they were made for display; given the relatively good condition in which they have come down to us, we can assume that they were little used and may even have had a display function, perhaps on a credenza (the modern Italian name for a sideboard, formerly given to a dinner service). No contemporary records survive as to their usage, though if the pieces were purely for display, it is difficult to see why they were made in different sizes and shapes, sometimes inscribed with the name of the condiment to be used. It may be relevant that a description of an elaborately decorated dinner-service made for Louis XVI at the end of the 18th century states simply that it was too good for everyday use, and would have been used only on grand occasions (1).



We know very little about the organization and arrangement of a Renaissance dinner (I use the term 'dinner' rather than 'banquet' as this latter had more precise connotations in the past). It would seem to have followed medieval precedent, with the Lord sitting at High Table by himself or with selected guests, with a display of plate on a sideboard at the side, and certain ceremonial items of plate, such as the salt, directly in front of him. Such a dinner is shown in Les Tres Riches Heures du Duc de Berry of about 1410 (2) and the Grimani Breviary of about 1500 (3). We know less of what they ate and the dishes on which the food was served. The Harleian Household Regulations, dating from the late 15th century, show that in England and presumably France a dinner consisted of two courses made up of numerous dishes, supplemented by 'potages' (soups). The tendency for the courses to move through meats to end in sweets appears to a development of the 15th century (4). The arrangement of the meal was supervised by various officers of the Household, such as the Carver (for cutting the meat in the days before knives and forks), the Sewer (Server) and Cupbearer, who held the cup up to the Lord. The diners ate off slabs of bread and shared a central dish, four of them sharing a 'mess' as it was called, two for more elevated people and of course one plate for the Lord himself. The tradition of displaying silver and gold plate on a

sideboard, where the wines would be poured, was the origin of the French buffet (sideboard) of the late 17th and 18th centuries and continued well into the 19th century (5).

There seems to have been some variation in Italy, where the diners occupied only one side of the table, leaving themselves free to be served from the other by the servants. Such depictions are shown in various Italian paintings of the 15th and 16th centuries (fig 1) (6). Our best guide to the kinds of food eaten at a 16th century dinner in Italy is probably Bartolomeo Scappi, who published The Art of Cookery in 1570. He was the "cuoco secreto" (personal cook) to Pius V, and responsible for the preparation and display of the food at the Papal Court. In it he gives sample menus for dinners according to season, dividing the courses into hot (served from the kitchen) or cold (already prepared and laid out on a sidetable). A meal that he prepared for Pius V in 1570 consisted of four courses, each comprising a wide variety of foods, but carefully divided into hot and cold courses. The first course consisted of cold foods from the sideboard - marzipan, wine, ham, cold song-birds and suchlike. The second was of hot-foods sent up from the kitchen: roast

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1) Sandro Botticelli (1445-1510), The Wedding Feast of Nastagio. Oil on panel, 83 X 142cm. Formerly Watney Collection, Charlbury

pigeons, rabbits, pastries, veal, goat, soup of almond cream. The third course consisted of more cooked foods from the kitchen, including boiled meats and stews, and goose, veal, and pies with custard cream. The fourth was a forerunner of what was to become the dessert course in the 18th century and consisted of fruit: quinces, pastries, pear tarts, parmesan cheese, and chestnuts (7). The divisions between courses may have been influenced not by choice of foods but by method of cooking, ranging from boiled (lesso) to fried (fritto), stewed (umido) to roast (arrosto) (8). The emphasis throughout such a meal was on display; Scappi had already worked for Cardinal Campeggio, who in 1536 gave a dinner to the Emperor Charles V who was on a visit to Paul III in Rome. The meal consisted of 10 courses laid out for 12 people. As it was Lent, only fish was served, with prawns cooked in wine with their claws silvered and gilded, gold and silver forks used for the sweetmeats course, and live birds were released from the complicated folded napkins, which were an art in themselves in the 16th century (9).

Scappi's meals were no doubt deliberately flamboyant concoctions prepared in a country which led the world in fashion and display. However, it does not follow that such a menu would have been imitated in other countries in Europe, particularly in

England, which also had a reputation for fine cooking, although the rich appear to have eaten only cooked meats (10). Indeed the amount of fruit and vegetables consumed by Italians was a wonder to English visitors, who seem to have considered such foods as both unhealthy and fit only for the poor. The English traveller to Italy Sir Robert Dallington wrote in 1605 that Concerning Herbage, I shall not need to speake, but that it is the most general food of the Tuscan, at whose table a Sallet is as ordinary, as salt is at ours...for every horse-load of flesh eaten, there is ten loades of hearbes and rootes, which also their open Markets and private tables doe witnesse (11). The absence of fresh fruit and vegetables on the rich Englishman's table must have led to ill-health and it has even been supposed that Henry VIII suffered from scurvy (12). The English were impressed with elegant new fashions from Italy, such as chopping up one's meat and eating it with a fork. Such innovations were the occasion for comment and, ultimately, imitation. From morning to night the Tables are spread with white cloathes, strewed with flowers and figge leaves, with Ingestars or glass of divers coloured wines set upon them, and delicate fruits, which would invite a Man to eat and drink, who otherwise hath no appetit, being all open to the sight of passengers as they ride by the high way, through their great unglazed windows. At the Table,

they touch no meate with the hand, but with a forke of silver or of other metal, each man being served with is forke and spoone, and glasse to drink. And as they serve small peeces of flesh (not the whole joint as with us), so these peeces are cut into small bits, to be taken up with the forke, and they seeth the flesh till it be very tender. In Summer time they set a broad earthenware vessel full of water upon the Table, wherein little glasses filled with wine doe swimme for coolenese wrote the traveller Fynes Morrison on a visit to Italy in 1608 (13).

We do not know the more mundane facts about everyday food and display, for instance, how foods were laid out on the table, and whether dishes of a certain size or shape were associated with certain foods in certain courses in our present day manner. Our earliest depictions of table layout suggest a high degree of informality in the setting, with a wide variety of trenchers, dishes and others utensils set out on the table without any particular regard for symmetry (14). Early Italian depictions of dinners and feasts, such as representations of The Last Supper or Botticelli's Wedding Feast of Nastagio (15), show an array of different sized round dishes supporting a variety of foods, without any suggestion that they were intended for specific foods; what would have been required would have been simply a

variety of plates of different sizes would could be disposed as necessary.

However, it would appear that the concept of a dinner service, consisting of different but matching items of tableware, was current from Medieval times onwards. They seem to have been ordered in sets of twelve. Charles VI of France ordered six dozen pewter dishes and twelve dozen porringers in 1393, although this was not necessarily a complete table service, and we do not know if the items matched (16). A maiolica service made in Montelupo in 1518 by the potter Lorenzo di Piero di Lorenzo for Clarice Strozzi de' Medici comprised the following items: eleven large plates (piatti), twelve middling size plates, 25 smaller; 16 large schodelle (cup or basin), 16 schodellini, and 4 large mezzine (the meaning of these latter terms is unclear, but must refer to some kind of medium size plate or dish) (17). Thus a basic dinner service consisted of a three sizes of plates supplemented by various broth bowls. We also have correspondence of 1530 when the Duke of Ferrara ordered a dinner service, including candlesticks, basins and ewers: Ianfrancesco, El Poeta, wrote to Duke Federico's of Ferrara's secretary in August 1530 that I have been in Urbino and have seen really excellent ware painted with landscapes, fables and histories, to my eyes of

surpassing beauty, and have explained to them about the service of which you wrote to me. The answer has been that they can't tell me the price unless they know the quality and quantity, but they say two gold ducats, and two and a half for one of those big dishes, and for some others one scudo, and two for a scudo, that is half a scudo for one, and scudelli and tondi at three and four pieces a scudo, according to the workmanship, because they are worth more or less depending on the greater or lesser amount of work, but I didn't tell them why I wanted the said service. By the 25th August he had 25 scudi for buying maiolica, and because these large dishes are not used any more I would like to omit them as they would not please, your Excellence will advise me by the bearer of this letter how many little plates you want, and of what kind, and also 'tondi', 'scutelle' and 'scutellini'... and whether you want candlesticks, basins and ewers....as soon as I can, I shall set off and will arrange for the said maiolica, and I believe I shall have nearly a hundred pieces for the 25 scudi, leaving out the large dishes which cost one scudo each (18). Some of these items are described in Piccolpasso's treatise on maiolica painting (19), and the basins and ewers would have been used for wiping one fingers at a feast in the days before knives and forks (20). The earliest surviving drawings of a table layout dates from the 17th century (21), which shows plates of three

sizes, the largest around a centrepiece, and others descending outwards, interspersed with bowls for rinsing the hands. Presumably the guests would have encountered a variety of different foods which could be selected at will, similar to today's buffets.

Throughout a meal such as this, the emphasis was on ingenuity and display; the meal was not intended to feed so much as delight the senses and impress the guest with the host's wealth and sense of hospitality. It was customary to provide table decoration in the form of small-scale sculpture made out of marzipan or sugar paste. These were called sobleties in Medieval England, and were brought around at the end or beginning of each course. Their subject could be chivalric or classical, and they might furthermore provide a conversation piece for the diners themselves. At a dinner given by Cardinal Petro Riario in honour of Eleanor of Aragon on 7th June, 1483, there were Sugar confections in the shapes of castles, ships, and mythological figures, including the tasks of Hercules, artfully contrived (22). Such sculptures came to be especially associated with the last course, which in England in the 16th century was called a void or later a banquet. This was a light repast of sweet wines and confectionery (sugar was thought to have medicinal



properties), often taken out-of-doors or in special pavilions outside, or even on the roof of a great house. A description of one is given by the chronicler Pierre de l'Estoile of a dinner given to Henri III by Cardinal de Birague in 1580: after the dinner there were two large tables covered with 1100 or 1200 pieces of faience, full of dried fruits, sugar-plums, and confects of all kinds, built up into castles, pyramids, platforms, and other magnificent fashions, most of which were thrown down and broken in pieces by the pages and servants of the Court, who were of a wanton and insolent nature. And great was the loss, for all the service was excellently beautiful (23) Gervase Markham gives a full description of preparing one in The English Hus-wife of 1615 (24). This banquet became the origin of the 18th century dessert that had such an impact on ceramic production.

In the early 16th century the design of gold and silver began to reflect the developments that were taking place in Italian painting. We know relatively little of the design of earlier secular gold and silver, since it was melted down for reasons of finance or simply changes of fashion. However, from the 1520s, the history of metalwork design can be traced from the survival of drawings of metalwork and the publication of prints

of decorative wares. The impetus was probably given by the artists Raphael (1483-1520) and Michelangelo (1475-1564), both of whom are recorded as having designed silver, Raphael producing designs for bronze salvers for Agostino Chigi in 1510, and a bronze perfume-burner for Francois I of France, and Michelangelo a salt-cellar for Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, in 1537 (25). The reason for the use of major artists to design apparently minor objects lay in their knowledge of disegno, or the art of design, which implied not simply drawing skills, but knowledge and perception of the underlying structure of the world, as laid down by God in the Creation, which the artist should attempt to recreate in ideal form by studying the beauties of nature and trying to depict their underlying perfect form, rather than the specific detail. The great exponent was of course Michelangelo, whose work is a continuous testimony to the search for ideal form in the nude, but once artists had this knowledge, they were considered capable of designing anything from a silver plate to a major work of architecture, such as St. Peter's in Rome, the crowning achievement of Michelangelo's last years.

With this knowledge of disegno also came licenzia, that is, the ability to transgress the rules in the cause of variety and novelty. Hence the origins of caricature in 16th century Italy,

and the development of mannerist architecture, where the rules of Classical architecture of Greece and Rome are knowingly broken. These ideas affected metalwork design in two ways. Firstly, it became general to use the human figure as a decorative motif, twisting it round and adapting it from its classical origin to produce handles on jugs and suchlike. Similarly, the variety and number of design sources now increased, including grotesque faces and naturalistic motifs. There thus began a tradition of certain forms of naturalistic and grotesque decorative design as having an artistic respectability, a tradition which lasted well into the 19th century.

The most important designer of gold and silver of the 16th century, judging from the number of surviving designs, seems to have been Raphael's pupil Giulio Romano (1499-1546). He had assisted Raphael directly in his work in the Vatican and elsewhere in Rome, apparently carrying out designs from Raphael's preparatory drawings. In 1524 Romano went to Mantua where he worked for Francesco Gonzaga, and part of his work there seems to have been designing objects of silver and other precious metals. He is recorded as having made numerous designs for silver, which combined naturalistic and grotesque features at once, as in basin and ewer in the form of fish in the sea (26). A

drawing in the Victoria & Albert Museum, inscribed for Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, shows his use of natural forms (fig 2), with decoration combining shells, snakes, bulrushes and a swan's head with a grotesque masks at the base of the handle. The great 16th century art historian and biographer, Vasari, refers to the 'bizarre vases, basins, jugs, cups...fashioned in various forms and fantastic styles' which appear in his fresco of The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche of about 1524 (fig 3), which is of documentary interest for his design of metalwork, and its use during feasts. We see a credenza laid out with oddly fashioned goods clearly intended to display the owner's taste and wealth, with only the wine coolers below having practical use.

It would appear that many of these pieces were thought to be imitations or reproductions of pieces from classical antiquity; derivations of Giulio's designs were engraved by Agostino dei Musi, who published a series of prints of vase designs each entitled Sic Roma Antiqui Sculptures ex Aere et Marmore faciebant in 1530-1, and Eneo Vico (c.1520-1563) who published a series of

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2)Giulio Romano (c.1499-1546). Drawing of an ewer for Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

3)Giulio Romano (c.1499-1546). Detail of the fresco of The feast of Cupid and Psyche, showing a sideboard laid with plate. Palazzo del Te, Mantua.

fantastic vase designs in Romae ab Antiquo Repertum in 1543 (27). The title suggests that they are taken straight from the Antique, those in fact they show a variety of naturalistic and fantastic ornament which places them well within the Italian Renaissance tradition. These prints would have propagated three dimensional ideas to the makers of utensils in the same way that prints by Marcantonio Raimondi propagated the two-dimensional designs of Raphael and his school to the painters of maiolica.

There arose in Italy a tradition of making vases and other decorative items in pottery which rivalled the finest works of bronze and silver workers. The main centre for the making of elaborate maiolica seems to have been the workshops of Fontana family and the Patanazzi in Urbino. Orazio Fontana, son of Guido Durantino (the family had assumed the name Fontana by 1553) set up a separate workshop from his father in 1565 (28). It was the son who seems to have specialized in the making of this luxury ware; according to the terms of the agreement, the father took responsibility for the white wares (Lavori bianchi), wares in the Venetian style (Lavori alla Venezian) and unfinished wares by the dozen (Lavori dozzinali cotti e da cuocere). The major products of Orazio's workshop appear to have been large tri-lobed wine coolers, flagons in the shape today known as 'pilgrim flasks',

salts, plates and other items for the table in the most up-to-date mannerist style (fig 4). The style of painting was usually that of grotesque, but this time painted on a white background. Some remarkable pieces survive from various great services, for instance, from a service painted with scenes from the popular romance of Amadis of Gaul, apparently painted for a Spanish patron (29), or pieces made for the Court of the Medici in Florence. A speciality seems to have been large and elaborate vases with snake handles, of uncertain usage; one survives in the British Museum, in 18th gilt-bronze mounts, inscribed FATE. IN BOTEGA. DE ORATIO. FONTANA (fig 5). The style of the Fontana workshop was continued by the workshop run by the Patanazzi family from 1580 to 1620; often their products are impossible to distinguish from those of the Fontana workshop. This also made great maiolica services for noblemen, such as the Count of Lemos in Spain (30).

Though the workshop of the Fontana was run privately, many

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4) Wine-cooler. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours, inscribed on the base in blue F.F.F./URBINI/1574. Urbino, probably by Flaminio Fontana, 1574. Height 40cm. The Wallace Collection, London (III 30)

5) Maiolica vase with serpent handles, mounted in 18th century French gilt-bronze mounts. Workshop of Drazio Fontana, Urbino, c.1565-71. Bought by Horace Walpole in Paris in 1765-6. British Museum, London

rare and precious items were made in court goldsmith's workshops. The most famous were those of the Medici, set up under Cosimo I (1537-74), and continued by his successors Francesco I (1574-87) and Ferdinand I (1587-1609). Their interest was not simply in the products but also the method of production, to such an extent that Francesco I was something of an accomplished goldsmith himself. Items were kept in his studiolo in the Palazzo Vecchio, which survive to this day with paintings by the most famous artists of the time depicting the process of the manufacture of precious goods. Such studioli were at first intended as studies in the modern sense, but with time came to be used for the storage of precious, rare and personal items: the most famous by far was that of Isabella d'Este at Mantua, which was hung with pictures by Mantegna (1431-1506), Perugino (1446/7-1523) and Lorenzo Costa (1460-1535) (31); as such they functioned as the forerunners of the French cabinets of the 17th century. The ducal workshops were transferred to the ground floor of the palace of the Uffizi, Florence, in 1588 and rare and precious items from the ducal collections were moved to the famous Tribuna of the Uffizi, designed by Francesco's chief designer Bernardo Buontalenti (1531-1608) (32).

One of the most interesting aspects of the work of the ducal

workshops were the first successful attempts in Europe to make porcelain. The attempts were only partly successful since what was produced was not true 'hard-paste' porcelain of the Eastern kind, but a 'soft-paste' variety which was closely akin to glass, which used ground-up glass in its composition. This was the most successful in a whole line of attempts to find out the secret of Eastern porcelains, coming after trials at Ferrara in 1561-67 for Duke Alfonso II by the brothers Camillo and Battista Gatti of Urbino, whom the Florentine ambassador described as the modern discoverer of porcelain. Unfortunately Camillo was killed in a cannon accident in 1567, and nothing is known of his products.

Interest in porcelain was already apparent in the Court of the Medici in Florence, where several hundred pieces of porcelain are recorded in inventories made between 1456 and 1555 (33). At this time porcelain was still very rare and expensive and could be obtained only from the East, along with so many luxury goods; in 1545 Jacopo Capponi was sent to Alexandria to buy porcelain and carpets for Cosimo I (34). Attempts at porcelain manufacture were made in the workshops of Duke Francesco de Medici, who was something of an alchemist, and made a specialty of melting natural crystals. He continued his father's interest in luxury



industries, and in 1575 the Venetian ambassador records that Grand Duke Francesco has found the way of making "Indian" porcelain and in his experiments has equalled the quality - its transparency, hardness, lightness and delicacy; it has taken him ten years to discover the secret, but a Levantine showed him the way to success (35).

A recent scientific analysis of Francesco's porcelain has revealed it to be composed of a mixture of white clay, fine white sand and the glazemaker's sintered marzacotto made from sand, salt and calcined wine lees. This use of silica rather than clay is indeed Levantine in origin. The glaze was made from a mixture of sand, salt, lead oxide and calcined wine lees in the manner of Italian maiolica. The low clay content made the items difficult to form, and the high firing temperature of 1100 degrees C. led to warping and losses in the kiln (36). From 1573 to 1578 the maiolica expert Flaminio Fontana, nephew of Drazio, supervised firings. In 1573 he was paid by the Medici for ten earthenware vases, and inventory records of the Medici guardaroba lists more than three dozen pieces by him, including oil- and vinegar-cruets and grotesque ornamented pieces (37)

Medici porcelain tends to divide stylistically into two

types. A certain amount shows a clear debt to Chinese porcelain, virtually all items being painted in underglaze blue (cobalt oxide) in the Chinese or even Turkish manner, with large flowers stencilled on, as in a flask now in the Getty Museum (38). Much of the production seems to have been small simple deep plates, some painted with flower motifs in the manner of the Chinese or even Turkish ceramics. There also exist a small number of plates painted in the centre with Evangelists from the series engraved by the German artists H. Aldegrever (1502-c.1558) after G. Pencz (1500-c.1550), or with a central medallion of the Death of Saul from the illustrated bible by Hans Sebald Beham (1500-1550) (39).

More interesting is the range of vases and jugs, some of which are in a style which had not appeared in ceramics before. They are few in number and seem to have suffered collapse or distortion in the kiln, as, for instance, in a 'squashed' jug in the Victoria and Albert Museum (40). Some are straight copies from existing types, such as the tall-necked 'pilgrim' flasks (derived from leather water bottles) or the double-spouted ewers at Chatsworth and Boston, the latter painted with fish in the manner of Montelupo maiolica (41), or the tall vase with a mask head and handles above, which is a close copy of a model already found in Urbino maiolica (42). A number of square flasks bear the

coat-of-arms of Philip II of Spain, indicating a commission from, or gift to, him (fig 6) (43). However, the most ambitious seem to owe a debt to the work of metalworkers and in particular show the influence of two court goldsmiths, Bernardo Buontalenti (1541-68) and Giovanni Bilvert (1550-ca.1593), who were both involved in the production of Medici porcelain.

Bernardo Buontalenti was a pupil of Vasari's and supervised the firings of the porcelain; in Vasari's Lives of the Artists of 1568 he is described as being on the brink of success. He had worked in the Ducal workshops on gold and precious stones, and Vasari praises his "ingenious fantasies" (ingegnose fantasie) but unfortunately described them as too complex to describe (che il tutto qui raccontare sarebbe lunghissima storia). However, a certain number of carved objects in precious stones survive which are attributable to his hand and suggest he had a major role in design the forms of Medici porcelain. The majority of these items are vases and ewers of concave form, often with handles

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6) Flask painted with the coat-of-arms of Philip II of Spain. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in underglaze blue. Height 27.6cm. Florence, Medici workshop, 1581. Musée National de la Céramique, Sevres.

raised above the rims (fig 7). Many have applied spouts or, sometimes in the form of dragons, a device which is associated with Bontalenti's metalwork (44). A remarkable piece is the double-spouted flask in the form of a grimacing face (45), a device often found in mannerist art and used in the fountains at the Boboli Gardens, for instance. The most ambitious piece is perhaps the ewer formerly in the Rothschild collection which bears the coat-of-arms of Medici-Austria and is marked on the base with the Medici palle (balls) and the initials FMED II for Francesco de Medici (46).

Two pieces of Medici porcelain are exceptional in that they are painted in enamel colours: a vase with handles in the collection at Brunswick, painted with a landscape in the manner of Italian maiolica, and a similarly shaped vase (now cut down) in the British Museum painted with a frieze of figures after B. Beham. The decoration on both pieces has been attributed to Flaminio Fontana himself (47). One of the last pieces of Medici porcelain seems to be a biscuit (unglazed) plaque with a bas-relief of Francesco himself, dated 1586 (48). Production of Medici porcelain seems to have tailed off after Francesco's death

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7) Spouted vessel. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in underglaze blue. Height 20.2cm. Florence, Medici workshop, c.1580. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

in 1587 (49).

These works were of all part of an international culture which dominated the Court art of Europe in the period 1530-1630. The emphasis was on design, ingenuity, invention, and variety, creating an art which would be fully understood only by those educated and initiated into these ideas; this rather mannered art has been christened mannerism by modern art historians. If some of these products seem a little over-ingenious to us, it is because we can no longer follow the Renaissance delight in ingenuity and craftsmanship. The objects were judged not by their restrained or harmonious appearance, but by their creator's ability to make something that could be seen as a rival to the natural world. This delight in artificial forms was not confined to Italy, but soon spread throughout Europe.

The first country to be directly and vividly affected by the influence of the Italian Renaissance was France. Here the King, Francis I, deliberately introduced Italian artists and craftsmen, mostly to decorate his new palace at Fontainebleau from 1532 onwards. The most famous were Rosso Fiorentino (1495-1540) and Primaticcio (1504-70), a former assistant of Giulio Romano. In 1540-59 they decorated the Gallery of Ulysses (demolished 1738-

9), which gave rise to a whole school of print makers, led by Antonio Fantuzzi (active 1537-50) and the master L.D. (50). The emphasis was on decoration using human forms, scrolled decoration called 'strapwork', and a general refusal to obey the laws of classical composition. The style was reflected in architecture by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (c.1515-c.1584) and in design in general by Etienne Delaune (1518-83).

French patrons had already seen pottery of a high standard. Girolamo della Robbia, one of the great Della Robbia family of Florence, had decorated the Chateau de Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne with glazed terracotta plaques, though unfortunately the Chateau was destroyed and the terracottas ground up at the time of the French revolution. The great military leader Constable Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567), supporter of the Royal family during the Wars of Religion, owned a maiolica service made by Guido Durantino of Urbino. There also flourished in France pottery with strong local traditions: for instance, tablewares of high-fired pottery with relief decoration from Beauvais decorated with a blue, green or yellow glaze, or flagons of double-walled pottery from La-Chapelle-des-Pots, Saintonge, decorated with piercing and emblems such as monograms or coats-of-arms. A pilgrim flask in the Louvre is decorated with the coat-of-arms of

the above mentioned Anne de Montmorency, High Constable of France. The Constable made several visits to Saintes and the inventory of his possessions in 1568 mentions ewers and flagons of Saintes earthenware (51).

Anne de Montmorency was apparently also a patron of some of the finest French pottery of the 16th century that has come down to us, today called Saint Porchaire ware. This name is ascribed to a small but coherent body of about eighty finely decorated pieces of low-fired pottery for which no firm attribution is known, and whose origin has been the subject of much speculation over the last one hundred and fifty years (52). Today it is generally accepted that the pieces originate from the village of Saint Porchaire, which was a feudal dependency of Bressuire between Poitou and Saintonge, a domain of the house of Laval-Montmorency; the arms of Pierre de Laval, before 1528, occur on four of the recorded pieces (53). Charles Estienne, in the Guide des chemins de France (1552), refers to 'Saint-Porchaire, pots de terre'. Items of Saint Porchaire ware are recorded in inventories of the de la Tremoille family in 1542 and 1577 (54), and again in an inventory of 1568 of the goods of Anne de Montmorency: Item: ung grand vase a bec d'asne de terre cuite emaille de noir, facon de Saint-Porchere - item: une esquyere et un goubellet

couvert de pareille terre et facon. (a large spouted vase of black enamelled pottery, 'Saint Porchaire type; item: a jug and covered cup of the same clay and manner'). The matter would seem to be clinched by the fact that some pieces bear the arms of Anne de Montmorency, or Henri II, or the three crescents of his mistress Diane de Poitiers. However, no records exist as to its manufacture or date or designers, and all discussion can only be based on the internal stylistic and technical evidence of the objects.

There would seem to have been two main phases of production. The first comprises a range of types closely based on 15th century metalwork shapes and forms - flagons, standing cups, or 'biberons' (a spouted drinking vessel now associated with children) (fig 8). The covered cup in the Cluny Museum is clearly based on a 15th century prototype. However, its decoration, of bands of ornament in black or dark brown or red encircling the item, bears no relation to medieval types and can only be paralleled with new developments in ornament that took place in 16th century Europe, most notably the development of the 'arabesque' style based on the interlaced designs of Venetian-

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8) Spouted vessel. Earthenware, with stamped and inlaid clays. Saint Porchaire, c.1550. Musee du Louvre, France



Saracenic metalwork (55). These were copied and developed by a whole host of ornamental engravers in 16th century Europe, one of the first Francesco Pellegrini in his La Fleur de la Science de Pourtraictre (Paris, 1530). Pellegrini was an associate of Rosso at Fontainebleau and it is reasonable to believe that the style reflects styles of decoration popular at Court. His engravings are supposed to have been a major influence on the school of bookbinders which arose in 16th century, and indeed the only specific link between the decoration on Saint Porchaire ware and other goods is on a flagon of the first period in the Louvre where one motif has been found to recur on a Milanese or Venetian bookbinding (56).

Models of the later period show a greater dependency on the shapes and forms of Renaissance metalwork, and include candlesticks, covered bowls, salts and jugs, but are decorated with a maximum degree of elaboration. The surfaces are now covered with a variety of interlace arabesque decoration of different colours (black, red, brown) of the most complex pattern. This may represent an attempt to imitate the Venetian-Saracenic metalwork which was much imitated in the period, as in a flask attributed the German maker H.Pflaum and dated to about 1565-70 (57). These later productions often bear moulded

ornament of Renaissance form, separately cast and applied; putti, grotesque masks, shells and even small animals such as snakes and lizards in the manner of contemporary Palissy were glazed in different colours. The most important is perhaps the ewer in the Royal Museum of Scotland, whose provenance dates back to the 18th century (fig 9).

Scientific tests reveal the body to be composed of 59% silica, 40.24% alumina, but without any lime or magnesia, and just a trace of iron. The lack of iron oxide explains the clay's white colour (58). The way in which the patterned decoration was applied has occasioned much debate. A cup in the Musée at Sevres has a cover which is broken and reveals that the ornamented surface is an outer skin of thin decorated clay which has been applied to the main body of the object which has been scored to facilitate its adhesion (59). Sometimes the pattern does not join up, as in the ewer in the Louvre, showing that the outer skin was decorated before being applied to the main body of the object. Much discussion has taken place on how this patterning was applied; it is generally said to be inlaid into the clay

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9) Ewer. Earthenware, with stamped and inlaid decoration. Height 34.6cm. Saint Porchaire, France, c.1545-55 (?). Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

skin, before being applied to the main body, but that is not clearly apparent from the broken lid at Sevres. However, in the denser patterns, where the dark colour predominates over the white, seems to go right through the outer skin of clay, as is revealed by the broken corners of a salt in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Such pieces of Saint Porchaire reflect a strong architectural character; and it has recently been suggested that the designs were inspired directly or indirectly by the work of the architect Philibert De Lorme, whose Le Premier Tome de L'Architecture was published in 1561 (60).

In contrast to our lack of any documentation for Saint Porchaire ware, we have an abundance of literature on the work of the French potter Bernard Palissy, whose reputation from the 19th century onwards has been that of one of the great figures of ceramic history. His work is especially characteristic of the Renaissance in that it combined an interest in science and the natural world with a belief in God and divine order. His theories were a curious mixture of economic and religious thinking, as evidenced by his two books, the Recepte Veritable Par Laquelle Tous les Hommes De La France Pouront Apprendre A Multiplier Et Augmenter Leurs Thresors of 1563 and the Discours Admirables de la Nature, des Eaux, des eaux tant naturelles qu'artificielles,

des metaux, des sels, des salines, des pierres du feu et des  
émaux of 1580. As these titles suggest, he was far more than a  
simple potter and saw his work as aspect of research into the  
natural world, which in turn were an aspect of his belief in God  
and his duty to study God's creation, and discover its laws and  
order.

Palissy was born in about 1510 in Agen. He trained as a  
glass painter (which would have given him knowledge of enamel  
colours), and travelled throughout France, Flanders and the Rhine  
area, before settling in Saintes about sixty miles from Bordeaux.  
In about 1539 he was shown an earthen cup, turned and enamelled  
with so much beauty, that from that time I entered in controversy  
with my own thoughts...I began to think that if I should discover  
how to make enamels, I could make earthen vessels and other  
things very prettily, because God had gifted me with some  
knowledge of drawing [presumably meaning disegno or knowledge of  
the underlying structure of things]; and thereafter, regardless  
of the fact that I had no knowledge of clays, I began to seek for  
enamels, as a man gropes in the dark (61). In this passage we can  
sense him making his own myth, with a kind of religious  
conversion just as potent as St. Paul's; we do not know for  
certain what this white earthenware cup was, but Saint Porchaire,

the probable place of manufacture of the inlaid white wares, was only nine miles from Saintes and has been suggested as its origin.

Though Palissy stated that I sought after only white enamel, because I had heard it said that white enamel was the basis of all others, he in fact seems to have developed a variety of enamel colours, which he combined to produce the effect of jasper. Jasper was a popular semi-precious stone of the time, often carved into intricate shapes which would then appear in a princely Treasury; several survive from the collections of Lorenzo de Medici in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence. In his Art de Terre he gives the basis of many of his enamel colours; tin, lead, iron, steel, antimony, saffre (cobalt oxide), copper, sand, salicort (ashes made from the lees of wine) litharge and stone of Perigord. These could be used for tinting the lead-glaze into various colours, and Palissy soon developed them for counterfeiting a variety of natural products.

Palissy's great fame seems to have rested in the 16th century on his ability to make grottoes, or those out-of-door features wherein all the features of the universe were on display. They derive from Roman versions which were at first

situated in natural caves and were dedicated to some pagan deity; as time went on, artificial ones began to be built. They were discussed by the architectural theorist Alberti in his De Re Aedificatoria who observed that they were decorated with an artificially rough surface composed of small chips of pumice or spongy travertine, mixed occasionally with green ochre to simulate patches of green moss. He had also, he writes, seen a Classical example decorated with oyster shells arranged in patterns. The taste was revived in the Renaissance by Giovanni da Udine at the Villa Madama at Rome and Giulio Romano at the Palazzo del Te in Mantua. The taste soon spread to France, where Primaticcio constructed a grotto in the Jardin des Pins at Fontainebleau and another for the Cardinal de Lorraine at Meudon (62).

Palissy's work on grottoes seems to result from a meeting in the 1550s with Anne de Montmorency, who was in Saintonge to crush the revolt against the Gabelle (salt tax), and seems to have commissioned him to create a grotto at his chateau at Ecouen in about 1555-6. It was also about this time that he seems to have received a visit to his workshop from the Cardinal of Lorraine and Henri II, to whom he offered one of his first bassins rustiques, a basin encrusted with fish, lizards, molluscs, and

other creatures of the grotto, with which the name of Palissy is most commonly associated today. It may be significant that it was Montmorency's patronage that seems to have got him out of many difficulties, as when in 1562 he was imprisoned for founding a Protestant church at Saintes, but was invested with Montmorency's help with the title inventor de rustiques figulines du Roi. In about 1565 he came to Paris to work for the Queen, Catherine de Medici, on the now destroyed grotto in her palace of the Tuileries, which is possibly recorded in a drawing now in the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin (fig 10) (63). It is excavations of this work which provide our best evidence for the kind of work that he actually produced.

It would appear from excavation and contemporary descriptions that these grottoes were decorated with animals, fish and birds appropriate to the level of nature that they occupied - the air, earth, or water, and seem to have been the inspiration behind a whole group of elaborate dishes decorated with animals and reptiles. Palissy describes how they followed his Jasper and rustic pieces: At last I found means to make

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10) Illustration of a grotto, from a drawing attributed to Bernard Palissy formerly in the Destailleur collection (illustration taken from Philippe Burty, Chef d'Oeuvres of the Industrial Arts, London, 1869). Kunstbibliothek, Berlin

several vessels of different enamels intermixed in the manner of Jasper. That sustained me for several years, but, while making a living from these things, I sought always to make further progress, thus incurring expenses and disbursements - as you know that I am doing still. When I had discovered how to make my rustic pieces, I was in greater trouble and vexation than before; for having made a certain number of rustic basins and having fired them, my enamels turned out some beautiful and well fused, other ill fused; others were scorched, because they were composed of different materials that were fusible at different temperatures - the green of the lizards was overfired before the colour of the serpents was even melted; and the colour of the serpents, lobsters, tortoises, and crabs was melted before the white had attained any beauty (64).

There is thus comparatively little documented ware from Palissy; attributions to the potter's own workshop must be made on the basis of a close relationship with surviving fragments from the Tuileries grotto (65). These fragments suggest that the grotto was decorated with applied reptiles, such as frogs, lizards, and fish, which were often modelled from life, dead or newly-killed specimens being used. Related to these are a large number of plates, decorated with such reptiles coloured with



coloured glazes (fig 11). Such decoration appears on plates by the German goldsmith Jamnitzer dating from the 1550s (66). A common theme in most of these plates is the snake wriggling down the centre, and it may be that the meaning is that of the serpent in the Garden of Eden, which makes all the other creatures flee (67). These plates are usually decorated on the underside with a mixture of glazes which give the effect of Jasper.

Grottoes had for Palissy a place in the wider world, and represented a microcosm of the universe. In his Recepte Veritable of 1563, for instance, he describes an ideal garden which would be a refuge of the day (surely a reference to the Wars of Religion of 1562-3). The garden was to be situated in the mountains in accordance with Psalm 104, where Christians could take refuge in times of persecution. He discusses the origins of materials, such as crystal being 'congealed water and salt', or that metals are created by sulphur of quick silver; and the need for a fountain or stream to pass through the garden. Above all, he would divide the garden up into sections marked by eight cabinets or small pavilions, one of which would be similar to Montmorency's grotto, 'sculpted and enamelled' like a rocher

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11) Dish with moulded animal decoration. Earthenware, painted in coloured glazes. French, workshop of Bernard Palissy (c.1510-90). Width 36cm. The Wallace Collection, London (III F 234).

tortu, decorated with frogs, tortoises, lobsters and snails, all the aforesaid animals will be sculpted and enamelled so close to nature that other real lizards and serpent will often come and admire them (68).

Palissy's later career is a sad one, with many problems resulting from his strongly-held Protestantism. It is not clear to what extent he continued the manufacture of ceramics, but from 1575 to 1584 he organized conferences on natural history. He was imprisoned again in 1586, only to die, apparently of starvation, in the Bastille in 1590.

Palissy seems to have started a whole movement of elaborate moulded plates and other objects decorated with coloured glazes, although the creative spirit in other hands was less vigorous, and the elements became more decorative. After 1576 he was associated with the Protestant goldsmith Jean Chipault I (working 1576-99), emailleur du roi, the first in a long line of family potters, who could have been responsible for a Palissy-style ewer and basin moulded directly after pewter models by the goldsmith Francois Briot (figs 12,13). He was working at a pottery at the

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12) Ewer moulded from a pewter example by Francois Briot. Earthenware, decorated in coloured glazes. Height 26.5cm. French, follower of Bernard Palissy (Jean Chipault I ?), c.1600. The

royal palace of Fontainebleau before his death in 1599, and his work was continued by his son Jean II (died 1611), in association with Claude Beaulat and Claude Berthelemy (ca.1555-1626), Jean Chipault I's son-in-law, in a house just outside the main courtyard of the palace of Fontainebleau. The pottery must have been prosperous, as an inventory of 1620 of his house and workshop lists figures, dishes, basins, candlesticks, openwork bowls, vases, urns, ewers, cups, salts, bottles and even picture frames, some described as terres sigilles or jaspees or agatees, showing that they were in the manner of Palissy ware.

Many of the products of this pottery reflect court styles and may have been modelled by the court sculptor Guillaume Dupre (1579-1640) or the medalist Giovanni Paolo (active ca.1598-1612). Dupre may have modelled a figure of Henri IV as Neptune with an infant dolphin for the birth of the Dauphin in 1601, and a pottery figure of a nurse and child which was presented by the Dauphin to Madame de Montpensier in 1608, which could correspond

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Wallace Collection, London (III F 227)

13) Basin moulded from a pewter example by Francois Briot. Earthenware, painted in coloured glazes. Diameter 41cm. French, follower of Bernard Palissy (Jean Chipault I?), c.1600. The Wallace Collection, London (III F 237)

with a well-known model in Palissy ware (fig 14). Other models represented a bagpiper, a hurdy-gurdy player, a boy with puppies and a shepherd. The Dauphin himself owned a large collection of Fontainebleau figures and animals bought on his frequent visits to the pottery.

In 1620 Chipault II was joined by Jean Berthelemy, which may have led to wares with coloured glazes being made at Chapelle-des-Pots, also at Avon, under the Clerissy family. This later type seems to comprise the designs with interlaced and radiating patterns, the so-called style rayonnant, but always of a quality and invention somewhat below that of the first Palissy-type pieces. Other centres for the production of similar ware in the 17th century seem to have been Manerbe (fig 15), and Pre d'Auge, near Lisieux in Normandy. The gradual dispersal of the potters may have been due in part to the measures taken against the Protestants in France in the later 17th century, but it is likely also that changes in taste and technique of manufacture meant that Palissy-type wares were little sought after by the end of

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14) Figure of a Nurse holding a baby. Earthenware, decorated in coloured glazes. Height 22.9cm. Fontainebleau, c.1602-05.

15) Plate. Moulded earthenware, painted with coloured glazes. Manerbe, France, c.1630. Private Collection, France

the 17th century (69).

1. In 1787 the King's chef du gobelet du roi wrote to him that Sa Majeste a bien Ordonne un riche Service, mais joint a ce qu'il ne sera complet que dans biens des annees, son extreme beaute ne permettra pas qu'on s'en serve habituellement. G. de Bellaigue, Sevres Porcelain in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen: The Louis XVI Service, Cambridge, 1986, p.12

2. Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House, London, 1978, plate 1, p.41

3. S. Bursche, Tafelzier des Barock, Munich, 1974, fig.2

4. A dinner given by Gaston de Foix in 1458 comprised seven courses, the fifth of which was given to custards and tarts, and the last to sweet things and confections. W.E. Head, The English Medieval Feast, London, 1931, p.160.

5. M. Girouard, op.cit. 1978, pp.47-50

6. P. Thornton, The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400-1600, London, 1991

7. R. Tannahill, Food in History, London, 1973

8. M. Visser, The Rituals of Dinner, London, 1992, p.196

9.c.f. also Christoforo Messibugo, Ranchetti, Ferrara, 1549;  
Gino Brunetti, Cucino Mantovano, Castel Gadolfi; Massimo  
Alberini, 4000 Anni a Tavola, Milan, 1972

10. The menu for a dinner at the Court of Elizabeth I held in  
1575 is as follows:

First Course:

Pottage of stewed broth [to be eaten before]

Boyled Meat

Chicken and baken

Powdered [salted] Biefe

Pies and Coffers

Pigge

Rosted Beeffe

Rosted Veale

Custarde [probably baked and savoury, akin to today's Yorkshire  
pudding]

Second Course:

Rosted Lamb

Rosted Connies [rabbits fed for the table]

Chickens

Pean Hennes

Baken Venyson Tarte

D.Hartley, Food in England, London, 1954, p.

11. Sir Robert Dallington, Survey of the Great Dukes State of  
Tuscany, 1605, quoted in H.Acton and E.Chaney, Florence: a  
travellers companion, London, 1986, p.302. See also  
G.Castelvetro, A Brief Account of the Fruit, Herbs and  
Vegetables of Italy, 1614, London, 1989

12. S.Maclean Kybett, 'Henry VIII - A Malnourished King', History  
Today, 39, September, 1989, pp.19-25.

13. Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary...containing his Ten years  
Travell, London, 1617, quoted in *ibid*, p.304

14. A reconstruction of a 15th century place setting is shown in  
Dorothy Hartley, Food in England, London, 1954, p.222

15. S.Bursche, Tafelzier des Barock, Munich, 1974, fig.1

16. J. Hatcher and I. C. Barker, A History of Pewter, London, 1974, p. 44

17. M. Spallanzani, 'Un "Fornimento" di Maioliche di Montelupo per Clarice Strozzi de' Medici', Faenza, 70, 1984, pp. 381-7.

18. Quoted and translated in J. V. G. Mallet, 'Mantua and Urbino: Gonzaga Patronage of Maiolica', Apollo, CXVV, 1981, pp. 162-169

19. The list includes drinking cups (coppette), footed bowls (ongaresche, piadene), plates with or without rims (piatti strati), trenchers (tondi), porringer or broth bowls in two sizes (schudelle, schudellini), covered cups (tazze) for women in childbed, and smaller ones (tazzine, ciotelette). He also lists wares by size, for the better setting of the kiln. These include among the baconi plates with rims or without (piatti co' fondo e senza), so-called meat plates (piatti detti da carne), baskets for fruit (canestrelle da frutti), raised salvers (aborchati). Smaller plates included plates for salad and soup, in the silver manner (piatti da insalata, piatti canati dallo argento [per?] minestre), and for napkins and sauces (piatti da saluiette e da samore). Piccolpasso, op.cit., pp. 30-33

20. c.f. a bill from Pino Bettisio of Florence of 1568: 2 catini grandi e 2 brocche per acqua per lavare mane. Norman, op.cit., p. 19

21. P. Fuhring, Design into Art - Drawings for Architecture and Ornament: The Lodewijk Houthakker Collection, London, 1989, p. 747, No. 1084.

22. M. Baur-Heinhold, Baroque Theatre, London, 1967, p. 13

23. P. Burty, ed. W. Chaffers, Chefs-D'oeuvres of the Industrial Arts, London, 1869, pp. 51-2

24. 'having showed you how to preserve, conserve, candy and make pastes of all kinds, in which four heads(?) courses the whole Art of banqueting dishes, I will now proceed to the ordering of setting forth of a banquet, wherein you shall observe that March-panes [marzipan] have the first place, the middle places and the last place, your preserved fruits shall be dishes up first, your pastes next, your wet suckets [syllabubs or creams], then your dried suckets [tarts or biscuits], then your marmalades and continiates [fruit pastes] then your confets of all kinds... Thus you shall order them in the closet, but when they go to the table, you shall first send forth a dish made for show only, as Beast, Bird, Fish, Fowl according to invention, then your



- Marchpane'. E. Ayrton, The Cookery of England, London, 19 , p. 461
25. Hayward, op.cit., pp. 83, 133
26. e.g. in a letter of 24th February, 1542, to Ferrante Gonzaga, Giulio refers to a pitcher and ewer (boccale e bacino) in the form of an ewer dripping water into a basin in the form of a whirlpool below. The latter specifies 'a variety of fish which are hard to distinguish from real ones (quella varietà de' pesci quale bisognerà vederli dalli veri)'. J.T. Martineau, 'Giulio Romano's Designs for silversmiths' in Splendours of the Gonzaga, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981, pp. 195-6
27. Hayward, op.cit., p. 82
28. J.V.G. Mallet, 'In Botega di Maestro Guido Durantino in Urbino', The Burlington Magazine, 129, June, 1987, p. 286
29. Wilson, 1987, op.cit., no. 90
30. Wilson, op.cit., no. 208
31. see R. Lightbown, Mantegna, Oxford, 1986, p. 186 for an outline of the early history of studioli; also W. Liebenwein, Studiolo: die Entstehung eines Raumtyps und seine Entwicklung bis um 1600, 1977
32. Hayward, op.cit., p. 151
33. M. Spallanzani, Ceramiche orientalia a Firenze nel Rinascimento, Florence, 1978, pp. 176-193
34. *ibid*, p. 184
35. T. Wilson, op.cit., p. 157
36. W.D. Kingery and P.B. Vandiver, 'Medici Porcelain', Faenza, 70, 1984, pp. 441-451
37. G. Cora and A. Fanfani, La Porcellana dei Medici, Milan, 1986, pp. 41-3
38. C. Le Corbeiller, 'A Medici Porcelain Pilgrim Flask', The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal, 16, 1988, pp. 119-126
39. Cora, op.cit., pp. 100-113

40. Cora, op.cit., p.77
41. Cora, op.cit., p.79
42. Cora, op.cit., p.125
43. Cora, op.cit., pp.140-143
44. Y. Hackenbroch, 'Some Florentine Jewels: Boutalenti and the dragon theme', The Connoisseur, 169, 1968, pp.137-143
45. Cora, op.cit., p.132
46. Cora, op.cit., p.99
47. see T. Wilson, op.cit., no.248, and J. Lessmann, 'Polychromes Medici-Porzellan', Pantheon, 34, pp.280-7
48. Cora, op.cit., p.152
49. G. Cora and A. Fanfani, La Porcellana dei Medici, Sonzogno, 1986
50. see H. Zerner, The School of Fontainebleau, London, 1969
51. J. Giacometti, 'Renaissance Pottery -France' in World Ceramics, ed. R.J. Charleston, London, 1977, p.118
52. for a review of literature, see M. Brunet, The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue. Vol. VII: Porcelains, New York, 1974, pp.161-73
53. on a flagon in the Louvre and two pieces in the Hermitage, Leningrad,, and missing item found in 1890 at the Chateau of Lude. See B. Jestaz, 'Poteries de Saint Porchaire', La Revue du Louvre, 25, 1975, pp.384-95
54. L. Mirot, L'Hotel et les collections de Montmorency, Paris, 1920, quoted in M. Brunet, The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue. Vol. VII. Porcelains, New York, 1974, pp.167-173
55. P. Ward-Jackson, 'Some main streams and tributaries in European ornament 1500-1700; Part 2: The Arabesque', Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin, III, no.3, July, 1967, pp.90-103
56. Jestaz, op.cit., p.388

- 57.illustrated in Kunst und Antiquaeten, VI, 1987, p.60
- 58.Brunet, op. cit. p.
- 59.H-P Fourest, 'Faïences de Saint-Porchaire', Cahiers de la Ceramique du Verre et des Art du Feu, 45, 1969, p.20
- 60.J.McNab, 'A St.Porchaire Salt in the Taft Museum', Apollo, December, 1988, pp.402-405
- 61.from the Discours admirables, translated by C.C.Dauterman, 'Snakes, snails and creatures with tails: Palissy ware in the Metropolitan Museum', Connoisseur, 169, 1968, pp.185-193
- 62.P.Ward-Jackson, op.cit., p.122
- 63.A drawing of it may be preserved in Berlin; see Berliner Museum, 1968, 1 pp.22-3
- 64.Dauterman, op.cit., p.187
- 65.L.Amico, 'Les Ceramiques rustiques authentiques de Bernard Palissy', Revue de l'Art, 78, 1987, pp.61-69
- 66.E.Kris, 'Der Stil "rustique"', Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, N.F.1, 1926, pp.137-208; N.Gramaccini, 'Das genaue Abbild der Natur - Riccios Tiere und die Theorie des Naturabgusses seit Cennino Cennini', Natur und Antike in der Renaissance, Frankfurt am Main, 1985, pp.198-225
- 67.ibid, p.66
- 68.tous lesdits animaux seront insculpez et esmaillez si pres de la nature que les autres lizards naturels et serpents les viendront souvent admirer. Les Oeuvres de Bernard Palissy, Paris, 1880, p.85
- 69.J.McNab, Seventeenth-Century French Ceramic Art, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987, pp.6-7

#### Chapter 4: The Stoneware Tradition

Although pottery in 16th century Europe could become an article of high fashion, for most people it retained a more utilitarian function. Simple clay vessels continued to be made for eating and drinking and used by lesser folk; we see then depicted in the paintings of Pieter Breughel (c.1520/5-1569) along with wooden trenchers and other items in everyday use. This class of ceramic was probably the standard for most people, though they are known more through fragments from archeological excavations than survival intact (1). It is doubtful whether these would have been valuable enough to be exported. However, there arose in Germany a class of ceramic which imbibed the ideas of the Renaissance without attempting to hide its utilitarian nature. This was the tough and hard stoneware of Germany, which combined utility with decorative influences from printed designs and other sources.

Although we can speak of a German culture, sharing a common visual style and (to a lesser extent) a common language, Germany itself in the 16th century was not a single political nation, sharing common laws or a single Prince. It was a mixture of over one thousand principalities, bishoprics and independent Free Cities, such as the important trading towns of the Hansa in the North and the metalworking towns of Augsburg and Nuremburg in the South, all under the nominal tutelage of the Holy Roman

Empire. However, this federation was beginning to break down, most obviously with the divisions caused by the Reformation from 1517 onwards, in which certain Princes and towns openly defied the Emperor on the issue of religion. These divisions were exacerbated by divisions within German society itself, exemplified by the Peasants War of 1522-5 and the growth of religious dissidents such as Anabaptists. However, the vigour with which activities such as painting, architecture, printmaking and metalworking were pursued testifies to the internal dynamism of the economy.

Germany had led Italy in the production of books and prints from the 15th century onwards, although the new techniques of copper- and woodblock-printing had their first recognizable influence on ceramics in Italian maiolica. The process of printing by moveable type had been developed by Johan Gutenberg (c.1398-1468) by 1456; before that, printed books had been made by means of cutting a whole woodblock and then binding the pages together. Many of these were illustrated, as in the Biblia Pauperum. The great painter Albrecht Durer (1471-1528) himself was one of the great producers of separate woodcuts, publishing the great Apocalypse in 1498, and the Large Passion, the Small Passion and the Life of the Virgin in 1511. These were widely copied and disseminated, even across the Alps, where Marcantonio Raimondi was responsible for a pirated edition of the Life of the Virgin which may have been copied by maiolica painters (2).

There was thus a strong native tradition of print-making, closely linked to book illustration, whose main exponents have been christened the 'little masters' (Kleinmeister), on account of the small scale of much of their work. Their prints had great popular appeal and were frequently used in several editions of the same book in different languages. The most famous are perhaps Hans Holbein's illustrations to the Bible published in the Historiarium Veteris Instrumenti Icones of 1526, and in expanded form in Froschauer's Bible published in Zurich in 1531, and the bible illustrations of Hans Sebald Beham (1500-1550) published in German in Frankfurt in 1533, and in Latin in 1537, 1539 and 1557. Most popular and widely reproduced were perhaps the one hundred and forty seven illustrations by Virgil Solis (1514-62) published in the Bible of Sigmund Feyerabend in Frankfurt am Main in 1560 (3). These books were distributed internationally and can often traced as sources for pictorial design in various of the decorative arts.

German patrons were aware of developments in ceramics in Italy, since there were strong trading links between the large towns in southern Germany and Italy. These links seem to have led to a number of commissions from such great banking towns as Nuremburg and Augsburg for maiolica services, such as one bearing the arms of Johann Neudorffer (1497-1563), a distinguished teacher in Nuremburg (4), or a service made on the occasion of a

marriage between the Christell and Mayr families of about 1593 (5). A small amount of painted German tin-glazed earthenware is known, probably the result of influences from Italy, as for example the case of the potters Hans Nickel and Soward Reinhardt, who went from Nuremberg to Venice before 1531, and may have brought the secrets of maiolica painting back with them (6). Tin-glazed earthenware made in 16th century Germany included stove-tiles, and a small number of blue painted jugs in the form of owls (Eulenkruege), dated 1540 to 1561. A small group of tin-glazed wares was made in the stoneware town of Creussen, some of which are dated 1618. The tradition continued in the 17th century in town of Winterthur in Switzerland, where Guild regulations had been introduced in 1637. A group of at least 96 potters, most famously the Pfau family, made a wide range of tinglazed earthenware, including tiles, jugs, plates and dishes painted with fruit, coats-of-arms and other motifs in a distinctive style that owed little to the istoriato tradition of maiolica painting (7).

Much of our knowledge about the production of the decorative arts in the 16th century Germany comes from the surviving records of the different tradesmen's Guilds. These were, in origin, medieval institutions which existed to protect the rights of

their members and maintain standards of workmanship. By the 16th century, however, they had become institutions which tended to protect the rights of the more powerful members against the lesser. Often they had rights of representation of the City councils, in common with the old-established rich families and the "honourable" (ehrbare) middle ranks (8). In general, German guild organization was much more strict and rigid than its Italian counterpart, operating a rigid system of exclusion for outsiders, even those patronized by the Crown (9). However, except in the most specialised fields of pottery production, there were no guilds of potters as such, their better members being members of the builders' guild (for tiles and bricks), the painters and sculptors (for painted and moulded decoration), or, for the owners of large workshops, members of the Sellers of Glass and Earthen Pots (10). It was only in the production of items of highly decorated ceramic, with large workshops headed by a Master, that Guild organization played a major role.

An important part of the ceramic industry in Germany and Austria was devoted to the production of large and elaborate stove tiles, for the decoration of the great stoves that were to remain a feature of Continental rooms into the 19th century. The main centres were Cologne, Nuremburg, and the Tyrol in Austria



(fig 1). The decoration on early tiles, made before 1500, consisted mostly of moulded decoration formed by squeezing the flat clay of the tiles into a mould, which were then baked and glazed in green or brown lead glazes. The first styles of moulded decoration were derived from traditional heraldic or plant forms in the Gothic manner, but soon Classical motifs derived from the Italian Renaissance soon made their appearance, sometimes mixed with the older styles. The famous late Gothic stove, dated 1501, in the castle of Hohensalzburg, is decorated with caryatids and pilasters in the Classical manner, together with figures of Roman emperors and of the apostles. The stove showing Renaissance decoration at Cracow of 1506-1518 has tiles with polychrome decoration of different coloured glazes. The names of some of these early potters and tile makers are known, for instance Hans Bermain of Augsburg, some of whose pieces are dated 1562 (11). It is not known when the ideas of the Renaissance first came to have an influence on the German decorative arts, and artisans had to dispense with traditional patterns handed down over the years; it may be significant that in 1535 the Nuremberg Guild of Goldsmiths no longer forced the goldsmiths to produce their own design when submitting their

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10) Stove with polychrome tiles. Earthenware, painted with coloured glazes. Height 187cm. Mainfranken, 1495-1519. Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg.

masterpiece to gain admission to the Guild, suggesting that by then they needed professional help to produce designs (12).

The making of coloured stove tiles led to the development of brightly-coloured "potters" ware (Hafnerkeramik) painted in different coloured glazes in the second third of the 16th century, mostly in Austria and Saxony. The glazes were coloured white, yellow, brown, redbrown, purple, green and blue in the manner of Palissy ware. Again the main feature of the decoration is ornament made by producing the vessel in a mould, but with a greater range of shapes and types, such as large jugs which bear on the main body religious or other scenes, with applied or incised decoration on the other parts. The best known maker of Hafnerkeramik whose name has come down to us is Paul Preuning of Nuremberg, who in 1541 was convicted, along with his workman Kunz Preuning, for having made a blasphemous jug decorated both with scenes of the Crucifixion and representations of fifiers, drummers and dancing peasants. A number of pieces are attributed to him on this evidence (fig 2). Another centre of Hafnerkeramik was Salzburg, which probably made the Gotchi stove of 1501, and produced an elaborate Zunftkachel (guild-sign) of 1561 formerly

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2) Jug. Earthenware, painted in coloured glazes. Nuremberg, workshop of Paul Preuning, c.1550. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

in the Figdor collection (13). Simpler Hafnerware made in the Cologne region, mostly simple jugs and beakers with applied decoration with green or yellow glazes (14).

Though Italy dominated the field of luxury ceramic tablewares with its elegant painted tin-glazed earthenware, there existed in the North quite another ceramic tradition, whose aesthetic qualities lay more in the process of manufacture than painted decoration. This was the German tradition of large moulded stoneware jugs and flasks for beer and (presumably) wine and water called Humpen. In order to make them imporous, the clay was fired to a high temperature of 1200 degrees C, which resulted in a kind of vitrified ceramic characterized by its toughness and durability (stoneware). The main centres for its production were the region around Cologne in Germany, Raeren on the border with modern-day Belgium and the forest regions of the south. These wares were in great demand throughout Europe and beyond and formed a flourishing export trade well into the 18th century.

We do not know in which part of Germany stoneware first originated. New types of jug in a hard-fired fabric, with a grey core and reddish or greyish surface fired to 1000-1050

degrees C, began to appear during the first quarter of the 13th century in the area around Cologne (15). During the first half of the second quarter of the 13th century a slip was added to create a glassy reddish or brownish effect. As the strength of the body was increased, the walls of the vessel became thinner and the firing temperature rose to 1050-1200 C. It should be stressed that the production of stoneware proper required special clays which could withstand these high temperatures, which led to a certain amount of regional specialization, with a range of places in the Rhineland, Hesse and Lower Saxony being identified as possible centres of stoneware production in medieval times (16).

A development of the later 14th century was 'salt-glaze', in which a more refined clay was glazed by throwing salt into the kiln during firing. During the process the soda in the salt combines with the silica and alumina in the body, leaving a thin, colourless, glassy film on the body, akin to the texture of orange peel, making the pot imporous without the need for a further firing. This development took place either in the Eifel region or around Siegburg near Cologne, and led to the development of a whole group of export wares whose manufacture continued into the 18th century.

The characteristic product of the early period of salt-glaze was the brown mug or jug made at Cologne and its neighbouring town of Frechen, from 1544 onwards (17), which began to appear around 1500. The clay has a grey cast when baked in the kiln and so was coated with a brown slip before firing (18). The pot was thrown on the wheel, and handles or other parts were added by hand. After drying, the jug was often given more decoration by cutting, or applying decorative motifs cast from moulds (Stege), which had appeared by 1530. The best known type was the Bartmannskrug, a large bulbous bottle or jug decorated about the neck with the mask of a bearded man (fig 3). This was made by pressing a piece of clay into a mould bearing the imprint of a bearded face and applying it to the body when it was 'leather-hard', just before firing. Sometimes the face was developed into a figure with arms reaching down the body of the jug, or a decoration of trailed oakleaves was also added. Such decoration first appeared on mugs and jugs, but soon appeared on bottles as well. They demonstrate a stylistic degeneration from early (mid 16th century) examples with finely moulded features and a flat end to the beard, to much more sketchy types later in their history. They often bear decoration associated with Cologne, such

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3) Moulded jug (Bartmannskrug). Brown stoneware. Height 21cm. Cologne, c.1550. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne (Nr.E 28)

as small coin-like medallions, or lion masks, with acanthus leaves issuing from a central band, sometimes inscribed with a motto, such as Trink und Esst, Gots Nicht Vergesst ('Drink and Eat, but don't forget God), or Wann Gott Willt, So Ist Mein Zeilt (God's Will is My Aim) (19).

Three main workshops for stoneware have been identified in Cologne, in the Maximinenstrasse, which flourished from 1520-1550, the pottery of Herman Wolters in the Komodiestrasse (to about 1570) and another in the Eigelstrasse. The pottery in the Maximenstrasse seems to have originated a range of so-called Intermin jugs (after the Interim of 1548-1552) or Antichristschnelle, which bore decoration of an anti-papal character. However, Cologne itself remained Catholic during the 16th century (20).

More ambitious are the finely moulded and delicate bodied wares made in the outlying town of Siegburg. The local clays were of very fine texture and turned white in the kilns, giving Siegburg wares their characteristic pale appearance. Here we have the benefit of a vast body of guild records and regulations which enable us to identify individual potter's work and suggest a fairly precise stylistic evolution of shapes and styles of

decoration. The Guild itself came under the Grand Mastership of the Abbot of the monastery which dominated the town, and the records of the guild of potters (Zunft) have been preserved in the church archives, giving a fairly full account of the trade.

Our basic knowledge for the industry comes from three Zunftbriefe (guild Statutes, approved by the Abbot) for the years 1516, 1531, 1552, which give detailed descriptions of the workings of the industry. The whole working of the industry was carefully regulated, in an effort to maintain the standards of pottery and keep the business within the town. The craftsmen involved in the production were divided into four types: apprentices, unskilled labourers, workmen and masters. An apprenticeship lasted six years, most apprentices being bound to their fathers. Carters and woodmen, who had access to the workshops and kilns, who were sworn to secrecy so as not to divulge the secrets of the process to outsiders. Strict regulations kept outsiders out of the system, breaking down only after the town was sacked in 1632 and the Abbot sought to attract new workmen from outside. An apprentice qualified as a workman by showing that he was skilled in throwing and turning all manner of pots, and capable of making moulds and applying them to the pots, as well as devising new shapes and decoration. A Master had to

know about the types of clays and sands needed for stoneware, as well as supervising the firings himself and checking the quality of the resulting items. The quantity and quality of production was carefully controlled. A Master was allowed only sixteen firings a year, fewer if his number of workmen dropped below the requisite number; the working of the pottery was laid off between Martinmas and Ash Wednesday, and was not allowed to function by candlelight. The aim was to divide the industry up between the skilled members of the Guild, and keep production within the town (21).

The size of pots, their prices and method of sale was also controlled. The potters could only sell their work in the suburb of the Aulgasse, not within the town itself. Large orders of pottery went through the Guild itself, which divided the order up amongst the potters. The arms of the country of export were supposed to be on the pots, which accounts for the large number of wares bearing foreign coats-of-arms. The Guild attempted to sell its goods with all kinds of limitations; for instance, merchants from Cologne who bought the goods could only sell them outside of Cologne itself; for instance the Cologne merchant Thierrri Dulman was granted the privilege of selling Siegburg stoneware in Hamburg till 1599 (22). Obviously, these restrictive



regulations could only survive as long as Siegburg wares were in such great demand that they had few rivals; the 'golden period' of Siegburg was the second half of the sixteenth century, before the production of refined stonewares became general in other parts of Germany.

It is possible to posit a particular line of development for Siegburg wares, since many are dated and bear the initials of the master potter who supplied the moulds, which, according to Guild regulations, were meant to have been cut by the potters themselves (23). The earliest products of the town, produced before the wares were marked, seem to have been the so-called Jacoba jugs, which were exported to the Low Countries, formerly thought to be made in the potteries of the Dutch Countess Jacoba between 1401 and 1436. They are distinguished by indentations in their bodies (24). However, by the 16th century the characteristic product of the town was the very tall conical tankard (Schnelle), whose large surface area gave plenty of scope for moulded and applied decoration. This usually took the form of biblical and historical scenes, which were cast from moulds and applied to the main body of the vessel before firing. As with Italian maiolica, the designers of the matrices made much use of prints and ornamental engravings by the 'little-masters'

(Kleinmeister), and particular scenes can be associated with particular workshops (fig 4).

For many years manufacture in Siegburg was in the hands of a few families, the most famous being the Knuetgen, Simons, Flach and Omian families. These dominated the trade and led to internal disputes between potters; in 1564 the potter Peter Knuetgen was prosecuted for selling goods directly to foreign dealers, and accused of selling more wares than all the other potters put together (25). The best known potter is his father Anno Knuetgen, who with a monogrammist FT (usually thought to be F.Trac) made many of the finest Siegburg moulds, dated from 1559 to 1568. His earliest work seems to have been a Schnelle of 1559 decorated with scenes of the Raising of Lazarus copied from a print of 1525 by Jorg Breu (c.1475-1537). Here we see the characteristic style of Siegburg already fully developed, with a long conical body densely covered in pictorial scenes. Many of Trac's sources have been identified as the Bible illustrations of Virgil Solis of 1560, as well as prints from the Neuwen Biblischen Figuren of Jost Amman of 1564 (26). Two other members of the Knuetgen family

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4) Tall mug (Schnelle). White stoneware with moulded decoration representing The Drunkenness of Noah, after a print by H.S.Beham. Height 23.5cm. Siegburg, workshop of Christian Knuetgen, dated 1568. Hetjens-Museum, Duesseldorf (Nr. A 256)

were the afore-mentioned Peter Knuetgen, whose signed work dates from 1569-71, and his brother Christian Knuetgen, whose earliest signed work is a Schnelle dated 1568, and is especially associated with a group of spouted jugs embossed with animals. The Knuetgen family also made Schellen decorated with scenes of Esther and the drunkenness of Noah, the latter based on a print by Hans Sebald Beham (1500-50) (27). Other types of vessel were also made by the Knuetgen family, including Birnkrüge ('pear-shaped jugs'), and Pullen (footless globular bottles with a short neck) and Leuchtervasen (large jars or cisterns with the handles formed as sockets for candles). As with many wares, they show a tendency to increasing elaboration of applied and moulded decoration which gives these objects a ceremonial rather than utilitarian character (fig 5).

The identification of these wares is usually based on the initials they bear, which can be linked with names in the Guild lists. The letters HH are believed to refer to the potter Hans Hilgers, whose signed pieces range from 1569-1595. He seems to have been less innovative than other potters and indeed borrowed

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5) Tall flask (Gurde). Grey stoneware, with some painting in blue and applied decoration with the coat-of-arms of von Erbach and Von Rappoltstein. Height 43cm. Siegburg, workshop of Anno Knuetgen, c.1573. Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, Krefeld (Nr.1937.1).

or copied their matrices. This is also true of the monogamist LW (worked 1572-79), who may be identified with Lorenz Wolter (28). Most of his works fall into the Siegburg tradition of tall Schnelle decorated with moulded scenes of coat-of-arms or biblical episodes. However, he apparently has the distinction of being the first to adapt as frieze decoration the Dance of Peasants by Hans Sebald Beham, which appears on the number of jugs.

Although Siegburg was clearly the most innovative and productive centre for high-quality stonewares in the 16th century, it was not long before other parts of Germany with suitable clays came to rival its ascendancy. Raeren, to the south of Aachen (in modern Belgium; hence the 19th century term for German stoneware gre de flandres) was a major producer of stoneware from the middle of the 15th century until early in the 17th century. Its early wares are indistinguishable from those made at Aachen and its major period seems to have commenced about 1560. Whereas the guild of potters at Siegburg is well-documented, little is known of Raeren potters, since no Guild was formed till 1619 (29) and much knowledge depends on excavations.

The wares of Raeren are quite different from those of

Siegburg - most obviously, they lack the white body of the latter, and the body and details are much coarser in modelling - but they are not immune to the stylistic changes taking place in Siegburg. The most famous master was Jans Emens (Mennicken), whose signed works date from 1568 to 1594, but whose matrices remained in use after his death into the 17th century. His first works were tall brown Schnellen dependent on the work of Anno Knuetgen of Siegburg, but from about 1576 onwards he seems to have devoted himself to the production of his own matrices. His great innovation seems to have been the introduction of the wide horizontal belt around the middle of the body of the jug, as a vehicle for frieze decoration (fig 6); an example decorated with a frieze of lapiths and centaurs formerly in the Oppenheim collection was dated 1576. His best known work in this field are jugs with the Dance of the Peasants by Hans Sebald Beham, jugs depicting Susanna and the Elders based on a print by Conrad Goltzius, the Paris jugs after Adrian Collaert, and jugs with a frieze of soldiers in niches. He seems to have had a pupil, Engel Kram, who is also known for jugs with scenes from Susanna and the Elders.

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6) Jug. Grey stoneware, with painted blue decoration and applied decoration with the Story of Joseph. Height 42cm. Raeren, workshop of Jan Emens, c.1588. Hetjens-Museum, Duesseldorf (Nr. C 299)

Emens' main rival seems to have been Baldern Mennicken, whose signed works date from 1575 to 1584. Much of his work seems to be derivative, with friezes copied from Anno Knuetgen, the maker LW, Jan Emmens and others. He adopted something of Emens' innovation of the central band/frieze, but retained in an ovoid form. His son, Jan Baldern Mennicken, whose works are dated to 1589-1613, adopted a less architectural style of decoration, with stamped lines, arabesques, scales and palmettes forming the basis of decoration.

The decorative tradition in stoneware became increasingly influenced by a technical innovation: from about 1585 the potters of Raeren began to produce grey stoneware partly decorated with blue glaze (Blauwerk or "bluework"), firstly in the form of random splashes, later in the form of all-over decoration. This innovation heralded the beginning of a much more purely decorative phase of German stoneware, in which printed sources, and the use of the human figure in general, become much less important and were replaced by naturalistic or patterned decoration. The earliest marked piece of Blauwerk is thought to be a pilgrim bottle dated 1582, but the type did not really become general until around 1587. The shape of the jugs was

modified to include a faceted body with nipped-in top with a handle, as well as the three-handled Dreihelkelkrug.

In the late 16th to early 17th centuries tight Guild regulations and the wars that plagued Europe - most notably the Thirty Years War of 1618-48 - caused a vast amount of disruption to economic activity and led to the dispersal of stoneware production from its traditional centres. The town of Siegburg was sacked in 1632, never to regain its former supremacy, and its potters, and those from Raeren, fled to the villages of Grenzau, Grenzhausen and Hohn in the Westerwald, a district on the east side of the Rhine opposite Koblenz. Anno Knuetgen had already arrived there with his sons Ruetger and Betram in 1590, and was soon followed by another son Herman, and the Mennicken and Kran families, and Jakob Remy from Lothringen. Some kind of guild regulations were introduced in 1591 and in 1614 Betram was granted a privilege by Count Ernest of Isenberg and Grenzau with a gift of land and exemption from taxes, although he had to pay six ridergulden, the amount at which are taxed the other potters of Raussbach (30). However, as the area came under the jurisdiction of three rulers it was not until 1643 that they achieved a single Guild status, ratified by the rulers of Trier, Wied, Isenburg-Grenzau, Sayn-Wittgenstein and Metternich (31).

These regulations were much less restrictive than before and enabled the industry to flourish. By 1700, there were about six hundred potters working in the region (32).

The stonewares of the Westerwald are characterized by the fulfillment of the purely decorative tendency that began at Raeren and indicates production for a broad market. The Westerwald potters gradually developed their own distinctive style, based on the decorative innovations developed at Raeren, using sharply defined applied moulded designs and washes of blue or blue and manganese oxide before salt-glazing. Many of their pieces are grey-bodied covered in a blue glaze. Some of their designs continued to use the human figure, for instance friezes of soldiers or musketeers, but much decoration was either all-over leaf decoration, or in bands. In about 1620 they devised an eight panelled jug showing works of mercy, copied from a print published in Augsburg in about 1620 (33). Vast quantities of these wares were exported to Holland, France and England, which were slow in developing stoneware of equal quality, and often bear these countries' coats-of-arms or portraits of their rulers (fig 7).

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7) Jan Steen (1626-79). Twelfth Night Feast, featuring a Westerwald stoneware tankard. Royal Collection, London



The major technical development of enamelling took place at Creussen near Bayreuth in the South. Again, there was no guild to regulate the production and our knowledge of the working are dependent on a few scattered church records and the wares themselves. The church registers record the following potters: Gaspard Vest (1574), Hans Vest (1576), Hans Schmidt (1643-56), Balthazar Seiler (1653), Johan Georg Seiler (1686-91) and Johann Schmidt (1766) (34). The wares were made from a grey ferruginous clay which fired to a reddish colour, so to improve their appearance, they were coated with a very dark brown slip before firing. The shapes of the tankards were short and squat (Humpen), with moulded decoration in the form of hunting scenes or rows of figures depicting saints, apostles, the planets or local dignitaries. The first works seem to be the work of the Vest family, and matrices survive in the Hamburg Museum dated to 1602. After 1625 many pieces were painted in coloured enamels in the manner of Bohemian glass (fig 8). A Humpen decorated with representations of the Planets by Abraham Humes survives in Hamburg Museum; 1627 is the first known date of mugs with representations of the Apostles, Five Senses and Hunting scenes

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8) Tankard (Humpen). Brown stoneware, with moulded decoration and painted in enamel colours. Height 13.3cm. Creussen, dated 1661. Private collection, Germany

(35), which proved to have a long life. Jugs with figures of Ceres and Pomona after Heinrich Goltzius, and pilgrim flasks are also known.

The story of German stoneware in the later 17th and 18th centuries is of increasing diffusion of the technique throughout Germany, with corresponding increase in the number of local styles, mostly with particular decorative devices. In Saxony the jugs were glazed with a brown rather than a salt-glaze. The main centre seems to have been at Waldenberg. This was at first derived from Rhenish influences, but by the mid 16th century had developed its own style, with tall figures or medallions decorating the brown body. Elongated egg and beehive shapes and barrel shapes are known. Similar decoration appeared at Annaberg, only with overlapping scale patterns, applied rosettes and palmettes, pomegranates and portraits on jugs. The colours make great use of white, yellow and gilding or blue. Altenburg developed in the second quarter of the 17th century, directly inspired by Waldenburg. Altenburg wares are characterized by deeply incised profiles, stud decorations and, most famous of all, pearl decorations developed in the 18th century, often seen on a white body. Also in the same tradition are the products of Freiburg and Muskau. Freiberg stoneware is characterized by

carved patterns derived from stylised foliage motifs, rosettes, angles and lion-head friezes, which were frequently enamelled and gilded (fig 9). Muskau wares, on the other hand, developed their own particular style, using segments of circles filled with various decorations as well as the use of cobalt blue and manganese, and included a large number of novelty wares, such as angular bottles with a metal top (Schraubflaschen) and bottles in the form of barrels. Another centre of stoneware production was Bunzlau; especially esteemed are the so-called melon jugs of the 17th and 18th centuries, glazed in brown, green or black. The well-known Bunzlau clay-washed wares with white applied decoration were first produced at the beginnings of the 18th century. By this stage the clay being used in the production of stoneware was much finer than that of earlier periods, and as a result the shapes were more varied and elegant, and led to the extremely refined Boettger stoneware of the early 18th century, made at Meissen in Germany along with the first true European porcelain.

### The Influence Abroad

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9) Tankard (Krug). Grey stoneware, with moulded and incised decoration, with some painting and gilding. Height 16.7cm. Freiberg, c.1670. Hetjens-Museum, Duesseldorf (Nr. Sp.174)

German stoneware was a major export throughout the world from medieval times into the 18th century. Its toughness and durability made it ideal for objects in everyday usage and it is found in most countries in Europe, as well as further afield. It is often found depicted in Dutch paintings of the time, perhaps most famously in Jan Vermeer's The Procuress of 1656 in Dresden, which depicts a jug of Westerwald type, and is sometimes recovered from the wrecks of ships trading with India and the East.

One major country of export was England. The English seem to have imported Rhenish stoneware from the 14th century onwards, aided by the settlement of German merchants at the Steelyard in Windgoose Lane, London; the earliest imports seem to have been pitchers and cups of white stoneware from Siegburg (36). The London port book of 1567/8 records the import of 200 stone pots on the Lion of Lee, and all the cheaper ranges have been found in excavations in London, most especially the ubiquitous Bartmannkruege from Cologne (37) (today called Bellarmines after the notorious Catholic Cardinal Bellarmino in Britain). Since these tough stonewares were in such great use, they attracted the attention of the Crown for taxation purposes and Queen Elizabeth granted a monopoly on the import of all manner of stone pottes

earthen pottes stone bottles and earthen bottles to one Henry Noell (or Nowell) for fifteen years in 1593, which led to many disputes and infringements of the monopoly (38). They are apparently mentioned in a scene of drunkenness by Ben Johnson in Bartholomew Fair where he describes a man who has wrashed so long with the bottle here, that the man with the beard hash almost streek up his heelsh (39). It is estimated that 10 million stonewares may have been imported into London in the period 1600-40 (40).

Thus it is not surprising that the English themselves attempted to break the monopoly or make substitutes for stoneware. Copies in reddish pottery have been excavated in London, apparently dating from the 17th century. One transgressor of Nowell's monopoly was apparently William Simpson, who in February 1594/5 was party to an agreement with two foreign merchants, Joos Croppenberch and William Brunynck, to import foreign stonewares, and petitioned Lord Burghley (died 1598) for a monopoly to export and make stoneware drinking-vessels. In this petition he complained that the whole trade was in the hands of one Garret Tynes, a foreigner living in Aachen, who used to buy up all the "drinking stone potts" on sale at Cologne and supply them to England and the Low Countries. Excavated examples suggest

that he may have exported wasters or damaged goods. Further excavations at Woolwich in 1974 revealed the unsuspected existence of a stoneware kiln of the early 17th century, which made crude copies of German wares. In 1671 a Captain William Killigrew petitioned for a stoneware patent, probably using the services of the Wooltus family from Germany; some Bellarmine dated 1672 and inscribed WK are thought to be the product of this pottery (41). However, the first Englishman to successfully make stoneware on a large scale seems to have been John Dwight of Fulham in London, who in 1672 obtained a patent to make the mistery of transparent earthenware commonly knowne by the names of porcelaine or China and Persian ware, as alsoe the misterie of the stoneware vulgarly called Cologne ware.

John Dwight is one of those interesting figures who played a part both in artistic and scientific thought in the 17th century in a way which would not be possible today. He had studied law, physics and chemistry under Robert Boyle while at Oxford in the 1650s, and in about 1660 became secretary to the Bishop Hall of Chester and in 1665 registrar at Wigan. Here he set up a laboratory to study clays in his house at Millgate, with such enthusiasm that when Hall died in 1668, Dwight was accused of using church funds for the purpose, and had to sell his church

appointments and move down to London! Here he had more success, was encouraged in his researches by the scientists Robert Hooke and Robert Boyle, leading to his patent of 1672 (42).

It was at Fulham in London that Dwight commenced the manufacture of stoneware. He seems to have produced a great variety, including the ubiquitous brown Bellarmine (43). His success was such that Dwight became sole supplier to the Glass Sellers Company in 1676 of fine Brown Jugs and all other sorts of Fine Browne stone wares, and, in an agreement of the next few years also of fine Flatt Bottom bottles of All Sorts, fine Gorge Potts or Jugs and Fine pickling potts and pitchers. The site of his pottery at Fulham has recently been excavated and yielded a great number of finds, including failed tests, which testify to his experiments and versatility. The bulk of the discoveries are fragments of the reddish 'Bellarmine' of the type imported from Cologne, some stamped with the device of the Cock-Ale House at Temple Bar, but there were also found some exact copies of Westerwald stoneware tankards, complete with the blue splashed glaze (44). Later examples from the pottery seem to have become increasingly sophisticated, with moulded or applied decoration and splashed or irregular glazes. These are of high artistic interest, with a little sprigged (applied moulded) decoration in

the form of birds or insects or royal monograms added; as such, they add a new aspect to the tradition of stoneware (fig 10).

The most ambitious pieces from the pottery are some figures, which are some of the most remarkable products of the 17th century pottery industry in England. Some of these remained with his descendants until the 19th century and are now mostly housed in British museums. They are all made of fine white clay, carefully and deeply modelled, giving them the appearance of carved stone sculpture, and are the most obvious ceramic rivals to the art of sculpture since Della Robbia ware. The most imposing are perhaps the busts of Charles II in the Victoria and Albert Museum and Prince Rupert in the British Museum, which are in the full Baroque tradition, modelled with great attention to the details of the hair and clothes. All these figures are finely modelled with great characterization of expression; the most famous is perhaps the moving bust of the young Lydia Dwight on her deathbed, who died on March 3rd, 1673 (fig 11). No single

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10) Bottle/jug. Brown stoneware, with two bands of marbled decoration and applied moulded decoration including busts of William and Mary. Fulham, workshop of John Dwight, c.1690. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

11) Lydia Dwight on her deathbed. Stoneware. Fulham, workshop of John Dwight, c.1673. Victoria and Albert Museum, London



sculptor has been suggested for their work, and it has been suggested that they are the work of at least four modellers, namely John Bushnell (died 1701) (45), Caius Cibber (1630-1700), Grinling Gibbons (1648-1720) and Edward Pierce (died 1698) (46).

A possible technical and artistic rival to Dwight was the York artist Francis Place, who ran a pottery from about the years 1678 to about 1694. A handful of his products are known, including some fine white tankards, although he does not seem to have managed to copy Dwight's technique of using mixed clays to create a marbled effect. Although his wares are distinguished by a high level of quality, he never seems to have succeeded commercially, and his work must have remained an experimental sideline (47).

In 1684 Dwight obtained a fourteen-year patent which included white Gorges marbled Porcelane Vessels Statues and Figures and fine stone Gorges and Vessells never before made in England or elsewhere. However, by the later 17th century he seems to have lost the exclusive secret of making stoneware in England, and other regional centres, such as Staffordshire, had appeared. Much of Dwight's time in the 1690s seems to have been occupied in prosecuting other potters in London and Staffordshire for alleged

infringement of his patents, testifying to the vigour of their industry. A number of rather crude brown mugs with speckled dip are known, suggesting that these potters did not rival Dwight artistically (48). Dwight himself died in 1703, leaving the pottery to his wife Lydia, which continued into the 19th century.

The tradition of fine quality stoneware continued to flourish in other parts of England, most notably in Nottingham, where the potter James Morley had been prosecuted by Dwight in 1695. A range of pieces are associated today with Nottingham, including cylindrical mugs, two-handled mugs, and figures of chained bears. Morley's tradecard survives and shows a range of types made for the fashionable market, including teapots, decanters and a capuchine (? coffee-cup) (fig 12). Most interesting is his technique of carved ware, in which an outer wall of clay is pierced and cut-through with decoration. In the days before the use of porcelain became common amongst the middling classes these items seem to have enjoyed a marked success, and the industry expanded to the extent that in 1726, Daniel Defoe, in his Tour Through Great Britain, observed of Nottingham: earthenware houses; the latter much increased since

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12) Tradecard of James Morley of Nottingham, showing a variety of stoneware pieces, c.1700. Engraving. Bodleian Library, Oxford

the increase of tea-drinking; for the making of fine stone-mugs, tea-pots cup etc (49).

However, the great majority of English stonewares were essentially utilitarian in character and made for heavy and prolonged usage. They are more usually associated with beer and spirits than the more elegant beverages of tea and coffee and continued to be made well into the 18th century. Some of the finer items continued to have attractive "sprigged" (applied) decoration on their surface, or were moulded with figures from popular entertainment. The main centres of later stoneware production were Derbyshire, Nottingham, London (Vauxhall) and Bristol, which all competed to make utilitarian wares; a list of prices of "Brown Stoneware" published by the London manufacturers in 1795 lists bottles and jars, 'gorges', mugs, barrels, beer barrels and shop pots all in different sizes (50). The best known of the 18th century types were the 'hunting mugs', large mugs for ale or beer, particularly associated with the London potteries at Lambeth and Vauxhall, so called because of the applied sprigged decoration in the form of hunting scenes with packs of hounds which decorated their surface. A characteristic of these was that they were often dipped in a white slip to improve their appearance, the base or top being left in their natural clay

colour (fig 13). They are often finished with a silver, or silver plate rim, at the top, which can sometimes be used to give them a precise dating (51).

The production of stoneware continued well into the 19th century, although increasingly restricted to the crudest domestic items, including sanitary ware. By the early 18th century its prestige had been ousted by a finer type of high-fired ceramic imported from the East that came to dominate that luxury market throughout Europe - porcelain.

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13) Mug with sprigged decoration of hunting scenes. Stoneware, height 23cm. Vauxhall, London, 1729. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

1. see H.-G. Stephan, Die bemalte Irdeware der Renaissance in Mitteleuropa, Munich, 1987
2. A maiolica dish from Faenza in the British Museum (T. Wilson, Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance, London, 1987, no. 183) is copied from Durer's print of Christ Washing the Feet of his Disciples or the copy by Raimondi.
3. B. Lipperheide, Das Rheinische Steinzeug und die Graphik der Renaissance, Berlin, 1961, p. 22
4. W. Watson, Italian Renaissance Maiolica from the William A. Clark Collection, London, 1986, no. 58
5. Norman, no. C. 113
6. H.-G. Stephan, Die bemalte Irdeware der Renaissance in Mitteleuropa, Munich, 1987, p. 264
7. R. L. Wyss, 'Swiss Majolica from Winterthur', The Connoisseur, August, 1965, pp. 222-6
8. for the best discussion in English of the German Guild system in relation to the production of works of art, see M. Baxandall, The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany, Yale, 1980, pp. 106-116
9. J. F. Hayward, Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism, London, 1976, pp. 38-40
10. L. Solon, The Ancient Art of Stoneware in the Low Countries and Germany, London, 1892, p. 61
11. H. P. Mielke, 'Ein hessischer Hafner und sein Werk: Hans Bermain', Kunst in Hessen am Mittelrhein, 21, 1982, pp. 23-52
12. J. F. Hayward, Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism 1540-1620, London, 1976, p. 38
13. E. Hannover, European Pottery, p. 193, fig. 205
14. H. S. Stephan, op. cit., p. 283
15. ed. D. R. Gaimster, Zur Keramik des Mittelalters und der beginnender Neuzeit im Rhein (Medieval and Later Pottery from the Rheinland and its Markets), Oxford, 1988

- 16.H.G.Stephan, 'The Development and Production of medieval stoneware in Germany' in ed.P.Davey and R.Hodges, Ceramics and Trade, Sheffield, 1983, pp.95-120
- 17.K.Goebels, Rheinisches Topferhandwerk, Frechen, 1971
- 18.B.Lipperheide, Das Rhenische Steinzeug und die Graphik der Renaissance, Berlin, 1961, p.10
- 19.M.R.Holmes, 'The So-Called "Bellarmine" Mask on Imported Rhenish Stoneware', Antiquaries Journal, 31, 1951, pp.173-179
- 20.B.Lipperheide, Das Rhenische Steinzeug und die Graphik der Renaissance, Berlin, 1961, p.19
- 21.L.Solon, The Ancient Art of Stoneware in the Low Countries and Germany, London, 1892, pp.56-65
- 22.Solon, op.cit., p.68
- 23.B.Lipperheide, Das Rhenische Steinzeug und die Graphik der Renaissance, Berlin, 1961, p.21
- 24.G.Reinheckel, Masterpieces of Western and Near Eastern Ceramics: Vol.VIII: German and Austrian Ceramics, Tokyo, 1978, no.30
- 25.Solon, op.cit, p.69
- 26.Lipperheide, op.cit., p.24
- 27.Klinge, op.cit., nos.29-32
- 28.A.Ohm and M.Bauer, Steinzeug und Zinn, Frankfurt-am-Main, ill.56
- 29.The regulations were renewed in 1760. Solon, op.cit., p.140
- 30.Solon, op.cit, p.80; Lipperheide, op.cit., p.47
- 31.Klinge, op.cit, p.65
- 32.However, in 1726 restrictive regulations were introduced, allowing only one child to take up his father's work, and forbidding new designs, suggesting that the trade was in difficulties. Further attempts at regulation occurred in 1775,

- suggesting that the trade was declining. Solon, op.cit., p.87
33. Lipperheide, op.cit., p.47
34. Solon, op.cit., vol.2, p.32
35. Klinge, op.cit., p.86
36. M. Biddle, 'Imports of Medieval Stoneware from the Rhineland', Medieval Archeology, 6-7, 1962-3, pp.298-300
37. D. Gaimster, 'The supply of Rhenish stoneware to London 1350-1600', The London Archaeologist, vol.5, no.13, 1987, pp.339-47
38. A. Henstock, 'The Monopoly in Rhenish Stoneware Imports in Late Elizabethan England', Post-Medieval Archeology, 9, 1975, pp.219-225
39. Holmes, op.cit., p.177
40. J. Allan, 'Some post-medieval documentary evidence for the trade in ceramics', in ed. P. Davey and R. Hodges, Ceramics and Trade, Sheffield, 1983, p.43
41. D. Haselgrove, London Archeologist, 6, no.6, 1990, pp.154-6
42. A. Oswald, R.J.C. Hildyard and R.C. Hughes, English Brown Stoneware 1670-1900, London, 1982, p.24
43. Dr. Plot, in his Natural History of Oxfordshire (1676), calls them D'Alva bottles, presumably after the Spanish Duke of Alva, and that heretofore made only in Germany, and by the Dutch brought over into England in great quantities, but now John Dwight has discovered the secret and was sole supplier to the Glass Sellers Company. Holmes, op.cit. p.178
44. J. Horne, 'John Dwight: The Master Potter of Fulham', The Art Quarterly, Autumn, 1992. See also C. Green, Excavations at John Dwight's Fulham Pottery 1971-9, London, 1993
45. for an illustration of a bust of Charles II by John Bushnell, showing the closeness of modelling to Dwight's figures, see D. Sutton, 'London as an Art Centre', Apollo, November, 1981, p.298

- 46.M.Binton, 'John Dwight'. Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle, 5, part 2, 1961, pp.101-2
- 47.R.Tyler, Francis Place 1647-1728, City Art Gallery, York, and Kenwood House, London, 1971, pp.42-3
- 48.Oswald, op.cit, p.39
- 49.Oswald, op.cit., p.104
- 50.A.Oswald et al, op.cit, p.35
- 51.a selection dating from 1795 to 1806 are illustrated in F.Bradbury, A History of Old Sheffield Plate, London, 1912 (reprint 1968), p.339



## Chapter 5: The Influence of the East

The products of the East, most notably silks and spices, were the great luxury goods of Medieval Europe. They were brought by horse through the overland route via Persia and Turkey, a journey which lasted several months and led to a huge increase in their prices, with consequent profits to the merchants involved. What little the West knew of the Far East was a vision of a fabulously wealthy distant land of 'Cathay', a fantastic vision of Oriental splendour that coloured the West's perception of the East right into the 19th century. The lure for goods and spices led European explorers to seek a sea route to the East which cut out the laborious overland route, an aim finally achieved in 1497 when the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and discovered the sea-route to China. From then on, the Portuguese, and later the Dutch and the English, dominated and tried to monopolize the trade with the Far East. Their attempts to exploit it led to the setting up trading posts along the way which were to lead to the formation of the great colonial empires of the 19th century.

One of the products from the East that was most highly

prized was the hard and durable high-fired ceramic called porcelain. It was created by the fusion at high temperature of two naturally occurring minerals, china clay (Chinese: kaolin, named after the 'high-ridges', where it was found) and china stone (Chinese: petunse, or 'hard-bricks', the form in which it was taken to the potter) (1). These were blended, and fired in a kiln to a temperature of 1200c, the same as for European stoneware. It thus had many of the qualities of hardness and durability of stoneware, but was infinitely lighter, and translucent when held to the light. Its precise origin is unclear, but it seems to have been discovered and developed through a different amalgam of clays in China in the 6th-10th centuries, and subsequently developed into a national industry, with the kilns centred on Jingdezhen (Ching-Te Chen) in southern China, which had good river connections to the port of Nankin. These kilns have remained operational throughout the 17th and 18th centuries and produced the vast majority of Eastern porcelains imported into Europe.

The European name porcelain appears to have derived from the travels of Marco Polo to the Court of the Chinese Emperor Kubla Khan (1272-92) in China, who records seeing what he described as porcellana ('little pig') or the name given to cowrie shells or

mother-of-pearl. He may possibly have brought back the piece that still survives in the Treasury of St. Marks on his return to Venice in 1295. A very few pieces of porcelain filtered through to Europe before the 16th century, mostly through the overland route via Syria. They were highly prized and often mounted in gold or silver to protect them (2). The most famous example is perhaps the blue-and-white Chinese porcelain ewer called 'the Gagnieres-Fonthill vase', which was probably mounted as a coronation gift from Louis the Great of Hungary (1342-82) to Charles III of Durazzo, who was crowned King of Naples in 1381 (fig 1); after passing through the collections of the Dauphin of France and the Englishman William Beckford, it seems to have lost its mounts some time in the 19th century and is now in the National Museum in Dublin (3). Porcelain also featured in inventories of the rich and great, such as the Duke of Normandy (1363) or the Duc de Berry (1416) (4). The best surviving piece from this period is perhaps a mounted Chinese celadon bowl in Cassel bearing the arms of Count Philip von Katzenelnbogen (before 1453) on the mounts (5).

Porcelain seems to have been so prestigious that it was a

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1) The Beckford-Gagnieres vase. Chinese celadon vase of the late 13th century mounted in silver-gilt mounts. Drawing by Roger de Gagnieres, 1713. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris

feature of royal gifts, both as a sign of great wealth and of great cultivation; in 1461 the Sultan of Egypt gave 20 pieces to Doge Pasquale Malipiero of Venice and again to Lorenzo de Medici in 1487. Niccolo Nioli, the Florentine scholar, was described by Vespasiano da Bisticci in his Lives of Illustrious Men, written in 1482-98, as being so cultivated that 'the whole of his table was covered with vessels of porcelain'. Its status was similar to that of the finest silver and gold: in 1593 Clement VIII displayed two 'credenze' (sideboards) at a feast, one loaded with silver and the other with porcelain (6).

Most of the porcelain that was imported was of the blue-and-white variety, where the body is painted with grey cobalt oxide before glazing and firing, which turns a rich blue in the kiln (underglaze blue). This had developed in China during the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) specifically for export to the Arabic Near East, using cobalt imported from Arabic territories in Persia. Decoration of this early period consisted of scrolling foliage, possibly based on Greek acanthus motifs, as well as Chinese symbols such as dragons or Buddhist emblems. Many of the shapes and styles of decoration were dictated by their Arab customers, and thus from its inception Chinese blue and white porcelain showed characteristics dictated by its customers abroad.

It was not until the 16th century that Chinese porcelain came to be imported into Europe on a regular basis. The first Portuguese ship arrived in Canton in 1517, and by 1522 the government had ruled that a third of the cargoes of the ships coming from India had to consist of porcelain. The trade centred on the island of Malacca in present-day Malaysia, where the Portuguese bargained with Chinese merchants. Some of the styles of design and decoration began to reflect European taste; there exist pieces of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain decorated with the arms of King Manuel of Portugal (1469-1521) or the Portuguese Alvarez family, the latter dated 1557. Porcelain was beginning to be a generally marketable product rather than a rarity and by 1580 there were half-a-dozen shops in Lisbon where porcelain could be bought (7). Portugal was annexed by Philip II of Spain, who encouraged the trade and is supposed to have amassed a collection of over 3000 pieces of porcelain. A number of flasks with tall necks of Chinese porcelain are known bearing his coat-of-arms in underglaze blue (fig 2); they can be compared with European versions of square form bearing his coat-of-arms in

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2) Flask of Chinese porcelain bearing the coat-of-arms of Philip II of Spain (1556-90). Hard-paste porcelain, painted in underglaze blue. Height 30.5cm. Jingdezhen, China, late 16th century. London, Christies

Medici porcelain. However, porcelain continued to be a prerogative of the very rich into the early years of the 17th century, denoting special status and wealth, and was kept in a collector's cabinet rather than the kitchen; a Flemish painting of the late 16th century in the National Gallery shows one such cabinet, with a range of porcelain mounted in silver on a cupboard at the side (fig 3).

Porcelain came to be more generally available amongst other classes in Europe as a result of the political upheavals of the early 17th century. The rebellion on the Low Countries in the late 16th century, with the consequent formation of Holland as the world's dominant trading nation, usurped the traditional monopolies of the Kingdom of Spain. The Dutch at once attempted to break into the market with the East, forming their own East India Company, the VOC (Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie), in 1602, with a trading base in Batavia (present-day Formosa). It was organized into six separate chambers in Holland, based on six Dutch cities: Amsterdam, Hoorn, Enkhuise, Delft, Rotterdam and Middelburg, with the number of directors being appointed in accordance to the wealth of each chamber. Above the directors

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3) Detail from Interior of a Room hung with Pictures. Flemish School, c.1600. National Gallery, London

was a college of the Seventeen Gentlemen, elected for every meeting by the shareholders; these met only two or three times a year. Of particular interest are the papers relating to the Chinese trade which survive, giving an account of its activities which can be used to study the workings of the porcelain trade. The Company was not wound up until the era of the French Revolutionary Wars in 1798, when it was taken over by the newly-founded Republic of Batavia (8).

In 1601 the Dutch were successful in capturing the Portuguese carrack the 'San Jago' off the coast of Saint Helena; similarly in 1604 Jacob van Heemskerck captured the 'Catharina' near Patani (Malacca). These captures marked the entry of the Dutch in the trade of Chinese porcelain, as both ships carried extensive cargoes of porcelain. These were sold at auction in Amsterdam for high prices, Henry IV of France (1533-1610) buying a 'dinner-set of porcelain of the very best quality' on the advice of Louise de Coligny (1555-1620). Soon, however, the Dutch entered the trade on their own account, the first truly Dutch cargo of porcelain arriving in 1604 from Bantam (9). In 1613 the Portuguese successfully retaliated and sank the Dutch ship the Witteleeuw, whose cargo has been retrieved and gives us a good idea of the range of items imported at this early date. The finds

from this wreck are mostly blue-and-white of the kind associated with the reign of the Chinese Emperor Wan-li (1572-1620). Typical examples included dishes of various sizes with segmental borders filled with Chinese characters and a central panel with a bird or grasshopper or other animal motif, as well as small bowls painted with foliage or other naturalistic ornament (10). This kind of export porcelain was called Kraak porcelain after the Carracks in which it was carried, and was the main kind of porcelain imported until the middle of the 17th century. It often features in Dutch still-lives of the 17th century, one of the first showing porcelain in everyday use being a painting by Jacob Van Hulsdonck (1582-1647) in The Bowes Museum dated 1614 (fig 4).

The quantities of porcelain imported were huge; the Dutch dealt with specialized Chinese merchants in Formosa who passed the commissions on to the porcelain makers in Jingdezhen. Thanks to the papers of the Dutch East India Company, we know in some detail what was actually imported, and can see how certain items and shapes were specially made for the European market. In 1608 an order was sent out for 50,000 butter-dishes, 50,000 plates, 1000 mustard-pots, 1000 large dishes, 1000 large fine bowls with

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4) Still life. Jacob van Hulsdonck (1582-1647). Oil on panel, 65.4 X 106 cm. The Bowes Museum. Barnard Castle, Co.Durham



some small ones, 500 wine jugs ('if they can make them'), 500 small jugs with handles and spouts, 500 large fine cups, 500 small tasting cups, 2000 fruit-dishes, 1000 salt-cellars ('if they can make them') and 200 large dishes of two and a half span diameter for the European market (11). The shapes were copied from patterns sent out by the European traders. In 1635 special wooden models of mustard pots, tankards, and jugs painted with all kinds of figures that the Chinese porcelain dealers had declared that they could copy, were made in Formosa and sent to China. The resulting pieces arrived in Holland in 1637. Styles also changed according to fashions in eating; for instance, orders for vegetable dishes appear in 1643 and in 1644 porcelain was ordered according to samples sent from Holland (presumably of Delftware) (12). As the century progressed, the styles of decoration began to reflect European influences as well. Tulip-style decoration is thought to appear on Chinese porcelain around 1634-7, presumably in emulation of the tulip boom then going on in Holland.

The porcelain was sold on arrival at Holland locally at auction, in such towns as Middelburg, Rotterdam, Delft, Amsterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen; particularly popular were cups, basins and ewers (13). Ownership of porcelain soon became

widespread and became a symbol of a degree of wealth throughout homes in Holland: in 1614 the Dutch-Dane Pontanus wrote in his book on the trading city of Amsterdam that the East India traffic has brought a large amount of porcelains to the Netherlands and that is why one must conclude about the porcelains, the abundance of which grows daily, that only because of these navigations they come to be with us in nearly daily use with the common people (14). The spread of porcelain was so rapid among the middling classes that in 1653 three hundred and fifty two pieces of porcelain were listed in the inventory of the widow of the master silversmith Johannes Gemelenbrouck. By 1657 over 3 million pieces are thought to have been imported into Holland, and Chinese porcelain regularly featured in Dutch paintings of the time.

It was this kind of porcelain that began to be imitated by the tin-glazed earthenware makers of Holland. The technique of making tin-glazed pottery had come to Holland in the late 16th century, when imitations of Urbino maiolica were made at Antwerp and elsewhere, sometimes by potters who had emigrated from Italy. With the sack of Antwerp in 1585, many potters and businesses moved to the northern Dutch states and set up potteries at Haarlem, Amsterdam, Gouda, Rotterdam and Delft. Their products were at first closely modelled on the colours and patterns of

Italian maiolica, including polychrome bowls and dishes with a pattern based on pomegranates, and plates with a geometrical pattern or a blue-and-white leaf pattern derived from north Italian designs. A special feature of their work was the production of tiles, often of the pomegranate pattern; an inventory of 1603 calls them 'orange apples'. Tiles were also painted with flowers copied from the Florilegia or the Hortus Floridus of Crispijn van de Passe (1614), or after engravings by the Dutch artist Jacob de Gheyn (15).

However, by the mid 17th century a style of decoration based on that of blue-and-white of Chinese porcelain had become the dominant fashion. The Italian Piccolpasso had already described a kind of Chinese-style scrolling decoration as alla porcellana on Italian maiolica, but this was limited to the borders of plates (fig 5). In Holland the Chinese-style decoration covered the whole object, so that it closely resembled a genuine piece of Chinese porcelain. The main centre of manufacture was the town of Delft near Rotterdam, which by the mid 17th century came to dominate tin-glazed earthenware manufacture in Holland, hence the generic name Delftware for Dutch tin-glazed earthenware (16). Two

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5) Drawing of maiolica decoration imitating Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, from the manuscript of Piccolpasso's Art of the Potter (Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

factories, the Porceleynen Lampetkan and the Porceleynen Schotel, succeeded in improving their wares so much that they approached Chinese porcelain in lightness and beauty. Since most imports of Chinese porcelain of the early 17th century still consisted of sets of plates, they made a variety of other goods, such as jugs, vases, mustard pots with Chinese decoration; the earliest dated piece with Chinese decoration is of 1626. This production diminished with the import of a wider range of pieces of Chinese porcelain from 1637 onwards, but resumed after 1644, when the civil wars in China led to lack of porcelain in Holland. By 1655/6 no true Chinese porcelain was imported by the VOC.

These were ideal conditions for the tin-glazed earthenware industry in Holland to flourish and produce a range of high-quality goods. The industry in Delft itself developed rapidly after 1654 when the town was virtually destroyed by a gunpowder explosion. The resulting vacant brewery sites were then replaced by potteries who took over the breweries' name as a trademark, the most famous being De Dissel (The Pole), Het Jonge Moriaenshooft (The Young Moor's Head) (1660-92), De Grieksche A (The Greek A) (1674-1722), De Metalen Pot (The Metal Pot) (1670-1721), De Roos (The Rose) (1662-1712) and De Paeuw (The Peacock) (1651-1705).

We know about the workings of the industry from the records of the Guild of St. Luke, the painter's guild which also included related trades such as printers, picture- and print-dealers, and even scabbard makers. The branch in Delft was founded on the 29th May, 1611; the potters were classed as plateelbakker (dish makers) to distinguish them from tile-makers. An apprenticeship for a potter ran for six years, under three master potters; under the regulations of 1654 a thrower had to show that he could throw a ewer, salad bowl and a salt cellar with a hollow stem (thrown from one piece of clay), and a painter had to decorate six dishes of the largest size and a fruit bowl, as well as throw or paint a pile of thirty plates. The successful apprentices marked their sign in the Guild registers (17).

Although each pottery was meant to be in the hands of a master potter, in practice they were run by rich merchants, a potter being appointed "shopkeeper" or manager to front the commercial interests behind it. For instance, in 1655 Wouter van Eenhorn (d. 1679) bought De Porcelyne Fles with a potter, Quirinus van Cleynhoven, who was to act as shopkeeper and instruct van Eenhorn in the art of pottery. In 1658 van Eenhorn bought De Grieksche A (the Greek A) factory, acting as shopkeeper himself,

and was its sole owner from 1663-1678, although his son Samuel took over the management in 1674. Van Eenhorn was also at various times co-owner of De 3 Vergulde Astonnekens (The Three Golden Ash-Barrels), Het Hooch Huys (The High House), and De Paeuw (The Peacock) (18).

The early wares of Delft bear decoration derived from both European figurative styles and Chinese influences. The finest are some wall plaques painted with landscapes in blue-and-white by the professional landscape painter Frederik van Frytom (fig 6). Other plaques are known painted with peasant scenes in colour signed by Gysbrecht Claesz Verhast of the Young Moor's Head (19). These seem to have been specific attempts to create pottery with something of the quality of Dutch painting. However, most Delftware of the second part of the 17th century was more utilitarian in purpose, with a wide variety of cups, flasks and dishes being known. The best are some display plates of a very high quality imitating Wan Li porcelain imported via the Cape of Good Hope (the so-called Kaapsche Schotels or plates from the

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6) Plaque. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Height 62cm. Delft, signed by Frederik van Frytom and dated 1659. The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv.475)

Cape) (fig 7), which were produced in the workshops of De Metalen Pot (the Metal Pot) in the time of Lambert Cleffius (1661-91) or his successor Lambert van Eenhorn (1691-1721). Here the contours of the design were carefully outlined in dark blue or black (trek), a style of decoration probably invented in the workshop of Samuel van Eenhorn, and the quality enhanced by a covering of lead-glaze (quaart), giving a sheen something akin to that of porcelain. Such pottery was described as porceleyn-karakter to describe its fine appearance (20).

The porcelain trade with China was only resumed later in the century, after the Emperor K'ang-Hsi (1661-1722) consolidated his hold on southern China after 1683, and Ts'ang Ying-Hsuan was appointed in 1682 to take charge of the Imperial kilns at Jingdezhen. Precise evidence of the kind of Chinese porcelain imported at this time has been demonstrated from the cargo of an Asian trading vessel found off Vung Tau on the southern coast of Vietnam, which appears to be that of a vessel bound for Batavia that sunk about 1690. It includes a wide range of decorative pieces, sets of vases, covered beakers, and some cups and saucers (21). By this time Chinese styles of decoration were much

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7) Plate painted in imitation of Chinese Wan Li porcelain. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Haarlem or Delft, c.1660. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

changed. The human figure now features much more prominently as a decorative motifs, particularly figures of tall draped women and dancing children (called in Holland zotjes or "sillies"), and in the depiction of different flora and fauna, and in the design with Franse-punt (French point) in the borders.

One of the most popular items imported were vases in sets of five or more, based on sets of vases made for Chinese altars. Such garnitures, as they came to be called, grew increasingly popular and were used for the decoration of rooms and (especially) chimney pieces well into the 19th century. The standard set seems to have consisted of two covered round "baluster" vases, interspersed with two tall flaring beakers, or two round "double gourd" vases (fig 8). Groups of such vases were made by all the leading factories in Delft, in varying degrees of closeness to Chinese models. The most innovative factory in Delft seems to have been the Greek A factory, which is best known for its fan-shaped tulip holders with nozzles for heads. With the factory of the Young Moors Heads it began to develop a "mixed" technique, adding further colours and gilding to the blue-and-white wares in a second firing in a glass painter's "muffle" kiln

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8) Garniture of five vase from the Vung Tau cargo. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in underglaze blue. Height of tallest 22cm. Chinese, Jingdezhen, c.1690.



(fig 9). A further development (by 1700) was the use of a dark brown or black ground covering the whole body of the object in the manner of Oriental lacquer, to which decoration in polychrome enamels was applied.

Such pottery and porcelain would have partly been destined for room decoration, which became increasingly important in the 17th century. Early 17th century depictions of Dutch interiors sometimes show a row of blue-and-white plates set along a plate rack on wall, although whether of porcelain or Delftware we cannot be sure (22). By the later 17th century Chinese porcelain was so readily available that whole rooms could be decorated with it, and there may have been a glut on the market, as by 1681 Chinese porcelain was being withdrawn from sales as it was failing to meet its reserves (23). There was certainly a Chinese room in Rosenborg Castle in Denmark as early as 1616, but the craze started in the later 17th century, when one was installed in the Oranienburg near Berlin when it was rebuilt in 1688. The porcelain room in the Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin was begun in 1695.

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9) Vase. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Height 75cm. Delft, the Young Moors Head factory, c.1700. Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai

The most famous rooms of all, however, are those constructed for Mary II of England, wife of William of Orange, both in her Dutch palace at Het Loo and in her London palaces of Kensington Palace and Hampton Court. The idea was to pile the porcelain up on shelves or stand in pyramidal groupings, a motif very popular in the late 17th century. Daniel Defoe recorded the story in the next century: The Queen brought in the Custom or Humour, as I may call it, of furnishing Houses with Chinaware, which increased to a strange degree afterwards, piling their China upon the tops of Cabinets, Scrutoires (writing-desks), and every Chymney-Piece, to the tops of the Ceilings, and even setting up Shelves for their China-ware, where they are wanted for such Places, till it became a grievance in the Expense of it, and even injurious to their Families and Estates. At Petworth the Duchess of Somerset, one of the Queen's courtiers, had a china-cabinet, and some vases upon richly carved stands remain in the house as a testimony to the extravagance of this taste.

No exact record exists of the porcelain room at Hampton Court, although engravings by the designer Daniel Marot (1663-1752) may show one of Mary's china closets (fig 10). An inventory

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10) Design for the decoration of a room in the Chinese taste. Engraving. Daniel Marot (1663-1752)

of 1697 of Kensington Palace records 7800 pieces of china in the closet, drawing-rooms, supper room, bedchambers, backstairs, old bedchambers and Queen's Gallery. In the bed chamber we read of 'jars, deep basins, spouted bottles, white beakers, flasks, "pedestalls" of three "rows" carrying twenty-five pieces. Under a stand was "one fine jar and cover, two fine large beakers". Over the fireplace were six more shelves, of pyramidal form, with eighty four pieces on them. The Queen's Gallery contained 154 pieces, some piled on top of each other: "one fine large roll wagon (a tall cylindrical vase with a neck)/one large shallow bason upon the roll wagon/ one fine deep basin in that". Sadly little or nothing remains of the Queen's collection, since it was all given to the courtier Albemarle on her death in 1695 and taken to Holland, and presumably dispersed (24).

Another fashion of Eastern origin was the taste for tea-drinking, which led to an enormous demand for porcelain or pottery drinking vessels. The key factor here was the durability of the hard-paste porcelain vessels, as the wares had to be strong enough to withstand boiling water and everyday usage. The craze for tea-drinking (and the related Eastern drinks of coffee and chocolate) began to sweep Europe in the later 17th century. Europeans had already heard of the fashion for tea-drinking by

such travellers as the Portuguese Caspar da Cruz, or the Dutchman Jan Huygen van Linschoten, but it took a while for the fashion to become generally established. At first it was strongly recommended for its medicinal qualities, as in the publications of the doctors Jacob Bontius (1642) and Nicolaas Tulp (1652), and by 1637 it was sufficiently entrenched for the VOC to order 25,000 tea-cups from China, and teapots in 1639 (25). However, tea itself remained expensive and in 1656, during the civil wars in China, only 150-250 hundred pounds were ordered via Japan (26).

The popular fashion for tea-drinking in Holland seems to have been started by the physician Dr. Cornelis Bontekoe in the 1670s, who praised tea extravagantly; in 1685 demand for tea had risen to 20,000 tons. But it was the social, not the medical, properties of tea that were to prove most attractive. Tea could be drunk once or twice daily, but afternoon gatherings soon became the rule; this necessitated the apparatus of tea-kettle (for boiling the brew), teapot (for keeping the concentrated liquid), tea-bowls and saucers, as well as slop bowls for waste (fig 11). Also considered necessary were small tables to serve it

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11) attributed to Nicolas Verkolje (1673-1746). A Dutch family at tea. Oil on canvas, c.1715-20. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

on, and a certain type became standard in Holland, with an oval top and a column-shaped stand on a tripod base, which were made by a special section of the Dutch woodworkers guild. They seem to have been based on the idea that the Chinese drank their tea from special tables shaped like a drum, as seen in engravings of 1682 by Romeyn de Hooghe and Petrus Schenk. There also came into existence hanging-shelves for porcelain (tablet) on which were stored the items for tea making.

It was about this time that the low horizontal teapot that we know today developed in Europe from the Chinese porcelain wine ewer. Although a number were made in Delftware, the necessity of their holding boiling water led to a stronger material being copied. This was Chinese Yi-hsing red stoneware, a kind of plain red stoneware used for the making of teapots, which held the heat well and did not crack when filled with boiling water. They were plainly decorated, often with only a few sprays of trailing prunus blossom applied to the surface; a consignment of 320 figured red teapots was imported from Macoa as early as 1680 (27). They were soon imitated in Holland. Our first record of this is an advertisement by the potter Lambert Cleffius in the Haarlemse Courant for August 18th, 1678, who asserts that he has 'achieved such perfection in the manufacturing of red teapots

that they are in no way inferior in colour, purity and durability to the Indian teapots' (28). These Dutch teapots were very close to the Chinese in appearance and technique, being made out of a reddish clay with a matt or no glaze, with 'sprigged' (applied) decoration in the form of sprays of prunus blossom trailing over the side. Some deviation from Chinese models came later, as when in 1691 Cleffius's successor, Lambert van Eenhoorn, hired a trained wood-carver, Guillaume Neuillet of Le Havre, to model red teapots, whose contract was renewed for another ten years in 1693, although the designs were to remain the property of De Metalen Pot factory. A rival firm of Ary de Milde, at De Gecroonde Theepot (The Crowned Teapot), produced a finer and harder version of the same material, and in 1680 obtained a fifteen year patent of his products with a factory mark (fig 12). Other teapot makers include Jacobus de Caluwe (d.1730), who produced some very smart model with incised decoration in panels, and W.F.de Rotte and Peter de Lorreyn. This kind of manufacture seems to have ceased about 1730, when Europeans were able to buy the new porcelain from Meissen (29).

However, much of the finest porcelain of the late 17th and

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12) Teapot. Red stoneware. Height 11.5cm. Delft, factory of Ary de Milde, c.1690. Musee National de la Ceramique, Sevres (inv.2 224)

18th centuries came not from China, but from Japan. With the collapse of the Chinese market through civil war in 1655, the Dutch turned to Japan as a source of porcelain, which had imported the techniques of porcelain production from Korea late in the 16th century. Approaches to trade seem to have started as early as 1654, when ten Delftware dishes were presented to the Governor of Nagasaki; this was followed up in 1655, when more were presented to the commissar in Edo, Sickingo Sama, who thought so little of them that he would, however, have rather had a present of smoked meat (30)! 1659 saw the official beginning of the Dutch East India Company's trade with Japan, with an order for 56,700 pieces of porcelain. Sample pieces were sent, and 1660 saw Japanese versions sent to Holland, in order to fulfill orders for European types (31). However, the export trade was never commercially successful for the Dutch East India Company, as the Japanese authorities placed too many restrictions on the trade, and Japanese potters could not achieve the required thinness of Chinese examples; much of the profit in fact went into the hands of the Officers via private trade.

Japanese porcelain imported into the West falls into three stylistic categories: blue-and-white, imitating the Chinese; pieces with delicate asymmetrical Kakiemon decoration, and rich

coloured Imari porcelain. The blue-and-white was the first kind imported, although Japanese porcelain was greyer in paste, with a matt appearance to the glaze sometimes described as close to linen. This appears to have been the kind of blue-and-white porcelain that most imitated at Delft in the years 1660-80 (32). The delicate asymmetrical coloured style of decoration known as Kakiemon porcelain came later, and is traditionally based on a type of decoration developed by the Kakiemon family of potters. The motifs used were birds in flowering trees or prunus blossom, quails in tall grass, or lions and bamboo, portrayed delicately in a limited range of colours of blue, green, brown and red, which left much of the beautiful white body of this kind of ceramic undecorated. Kakiemon shapes were often moulded rather than thrown, as in hexagonal vases or dishes moulded in the shape of chrysanthemum leaves, types which were much imitated in Europe. Kakiemon porcelain is first recorded in Holland in 1680, when it was sold at auction at Enkhuiseu (33) and hexagonal vases, presumably of Kakiemon type, are listed in the inventory of Queen Mary of 1694 (34), and are to this day known as 'Hampton Court' vases, after the pairs at Hampton Court thought to be from her collection.

Kakiemon porcelain was rarely copied in Holland, as tin-



glazed earthenware does not always succeed in reproducing the sheen of a porcelain. However, there did flourish a market in decorating undecorated Japanese porcelain of Kakiemon type by outside workshops in the early 18th century. There also existed in Holland workshops which decorated porcelain in Eastern styles, such as that of Gerrit van der Kade, who was working in Delft and Amsterdam in 1705. The rage for Kakiemon porcelain persisted into Europe into the mid 18th century, especially in France, where it was christened premier qualite de Japon. Eastern porcelain decorated in Holland seems to have remained fashionable well into the 18th century, and is listed in French inventories of the Duke of Bourbon in 1740 (35) and the sale of the dealer Gersaint in Paris in 1747 (36).

More widely copied were the lavish Imari style wares imported from Japan. These wares, so-called because they were imported through the Japanese port of Imari, were made specifically for export to Europe, and consisted of decoration of under- or overglaze blue and red with much gilding; popular designs included the hangago (basket or vase of flowers) and fanciful Japanese motifs. This style was particularly applied to larger pieces, such as large dishes, tureens, and vases in sets of three or five. The general quality of decoration was much

poorer than that of the Kakiemon wares and such pieces were not intended for the home market. However, at a distance they look extremely impressive and the Imari style remained popular in Europe on and off into the 19th century. These wares were much imitated by the Greek A factory in Delft, which made fine quality tin-glazed earthenware decorated with colours and gilding (Delft dore) in the muffle kiln (fig 13).

The trade with Japan was short-lived and unprofitable, due to the problems made by the Japanese ruler (Shogun) and the higher wages of the Japanese potters (37). By 1713, with the resumption of the Chinese trade, only two Dutch ships were allowed to trade directly with the Japanese. The trade with Japan continued intermittently, and in 1750 the Company gave the Shogun and Saquemond Samma each 25 Delft jars (38), but saw a continuous decline by the later 18th century.

Regular trade with China had resumed by about 1730, but by then rather different styles of decoration had become current. The 17th and 18th centuries saw the development of painting in coloured enamels in China, the decoration being fired onto the

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13) Tulip vase and two flasks. Tin-glazed earthenwares, painted in colours and gilt. Height of vase 24cm. Delft, the Greek 'A' factory. Private collection

glazed pots in a glass-decorator's muffle kiln. Much of this decoration is supposed to have been applied at the port of export at Canton. The designs consisted most notably of figures at play, birds or other animal motifs, or trees and landscapes. At first green was the predominant colour; after 1720 a red or rose colour became popular, a colour based on gold which was discovered in Europe in the 17th century and used in enamels on copper; however, its use was recorded in China before 1720 (39). Designs became increasingly elaborate as the century progressed, and resulted in some overlavish productions by the end of the 18th century. These styles were christened famille verte (green family) or famille rose (red family) by the great historian Albert Jacquemart in the 19th century, though it should be emphasized that differentiation is simply a matter of degree.

Such coloured decoration was copied by the more ambitious factories in Delft, and a wide variety of pieces were made, including large interlocking sets of plates called risittafelstel (rice plates) made by the Young Moors Head workshop for the Eastern custom of eating rice based meals on the Indonesian pattern. It is about this time that the birds and flowering tree pattern known today as Indian tree developed, and was soon copied and developed by European ceramic manufacturers. Such wares were

developed by factories such as De 3 Vergulde Astonnekens (the Three Golden Ash-barrels), where the painter Ary van Rijsselberg worked in the years 1718-35, producing close versions of Chinese designs.

It was logical in the context of this burgeoning demand to let the Europeans dictate their own taste, especially as the Chinese style as such was becoming somewhat hackneyed in the 18th century. According, the Dutch East India Company began to commission its own designs, which were sent out to the East to be painted (40). A letter of the 12th November, 1734, records that they had tried to send out Delftware painted in enamels with new designs, but the makers said they could not do this, so they were investigating the possibility of sending out drawn designs (41). This seems to have resulted in an agreement with the painter Cornelis Pronk (1691-1759) to provide drawings for a year for porcelain with their colours properly put in, blue as well as gilt and other colours, and in various fashions (42). About a dozen designs are attributed to him, some of them verified by copy drawings in The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. The most famous is the design of 'parasol ladies', that is, two women under parasols, which appears on both Chinese and Japanese porcelain

(fig 14). The designs are a skilful blend of the Chinese patterns with the European version of the Chinese style, today called chinoiserie.

Holland continued to be a major importer of Chinese porcelain well into the 18th century, although increasingly it had to compete with the British and Scandinavian East India companies. Porcelain was still required for dinner and tea-wares, despite competition from European factories, which could not undercut the Chinese due to high labour costs and poor quality. The import of tea things, for which true Chinese hard-paste porcelain was ideal, continued apace: in 1730 the Coxhoorn imported 100 teapots, 124,595 cups and saucers, 490 tea services, of which 176 were white, to be decorated in Europe. Similarly, in 1758 24,958 sets of large Dutch tea- or single coffee-things were brought by the ship Sloten to the Netherlands, including 100 tea services (43). The most remarkable relic of this trade is the recovery of the porcelain consignment of the Dutch ship the Geldermalsen which sank off the coast of Batavia in 1752. On this cargo were dinner sets, tea-sets, and the full range of types made for export to Europe. The vast majority were painted in

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14) Plate painted with "parasol ladies", after a design by Cornelius Pronk. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Diameter 27cm. Arita, Japan, c.1740. Private Collection.

landscapes and Oriental motifs in underglaze blue, sometimes with the addition of overglaze red and gold to convert them into imitations of the ever-popular Japanese Imari style (44). By this time Chinese porcelain was no longer an article of luxury, so much as of everyday ware, and was decidedly second-best to the new European porcelain factories that were beginning to spring up.

The pottery industry in Delft continued to assimilate these patterns, although with less vigour. Factories began to close and increasingly the manufacture produced more and more utilitarian items, of poorer quality and fired in the cruder range of 'high-temperature' colours. By the 1730s it was no longer the most fashionable European ceramic, being supplanted by Meissen and other European porcelain. The industry now availed itself of European patterns and printed sources which first appeared on other wares, and European shapes become dominant. It was about this time that the industry began to make those novelty wares with which it is associated today, with especial emphasis on decorative plaques with moulded frames, with a central scene in blue or colours often copied from European prints of the time.

#### The Spread of Delftware in Europe

Versions of Delftware were made in other countries in Europe, such as Germany, aided by the migration of Dutch potters. The body of the wares was close to that of true Delftware, as the clays came from the Ruhr, Muehlheim and Oldenburg, the last named place being a source of clay for Holland itself. The best known factories are those at Hanau and Frankfurt; that at Hanau was started by two merchants of Dutch origin, Daniel Behaghel and his brother-in-law Van de Walle, from Frankfurt, who obtained permission from the Graf von Hanau in 1661 to commence Eine neue und Diesser Landen bishero ohnbekannte Porcelain Backerey (a new porcelain factory hitherto unknown in this country). Characteristic of their wares was the narrow-necked ewer called a Enghalskrug (45). Versions of blue-and-white Delftware were made also in Frankfurt, where in 1666 the Frenchman Jean Simonet obtained permission to start a factory with six year's privilege. It was sold in 1721 and finally closed in 1778. It is very difficult to precisely identify its products, and recently has been the subject of much dispute as to the precise origin of the more finely-painted blue-and-white wares, which some Dutch scholars attribute to Delft (46). A number of tin-glazed earthenware factories flourished on the shores of the Baltic, most notably at Copenhagen, which made good quality blue-and-

white wares in a style derived from Delft. Their most distinctive product is the large punch-bowl in the shape of a bishop's mitre.

A similar situation obtained in Great Britain, where close trading ties with Holland meant that there was a continual influx of Dutch potters (and pottery) into the 18th century. Galleyware (the old English name for tin-glazed earthenware) had been recorded in the inventories of Henry VIII (47), but the first known potters in England in tin-glazed earthenware are thought to be Jacob Janson and Jasper Andries, two potters from Antwerp who settled in Norwich, and Aldgate in London, in about 1567. The works of these early potters were presumably derivative of the Urbino styles then being practiced in the Netherlands, but nothing definite remains of their work. However, some fine pieces of tin-glazed earthenware were certainly made in Elizabeth's reign; especially notable is a large plate in the Museum of London dated 1600 inscribed THE ROSE IS RED THE LEAVES ARE GREEN GOD SAVE ELIZABETH OUR QUEENE. At some time the industry seems to have gained royal patronage, since the potter was Christian Wilhelm, who was working about 1625, described himself as galley-pot maker to Charles I. Few examples of delftware, as tin-glazed earthenware is called in Britain, are dated, but a large dish (charger) painted with a scene of Adam and Eve bears a date



1635 (48), and is apparently based on a metalwork prototype (49). Some jugs and mugs dated to the 1630s from Southwark in London are painted in a crude version of Chinese Wan-Li porcelain (fig 15) (50). Plain utilitarian wares made in quantity at this time were a large range of plain white tall-necked wine bottles, based on the German Engelhalskrug, inscribed with the name of the drink (sack, claret, whit) and a date in blue. Although most early identifiable wares seem to have been made in London, records indicate that the industry had spread to Brislington outside Bristol by about 1650.

The industry did not become widespread in England until the later 17th century, when in 1665 the Dutchman John Aries van Hamme obtained a patent for the making of tiles and porcelain [sic] after the way practiced in Holland. A number of good quality pieces with Chinese-style decoration are known from this period, as well as some very retardaire close copies of the kind of glazed ceramic made in Fontainebleau by the followers of Bernard Palissy, dating from about 1633-97 (51). Some of the finest wares were flat slabs were made for the rolling of pills;

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15) Mug inscribed JAMES & ELIZABETH GREENE ANNO 1630/ THE GIFT IS SMALL, GOODWILL TO ALL. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Height 15.5cm. London, Southwark, 1630. Museum of London, London (No.A.6807)

these are frequently painted in blue with the coat-of-arms of the London company or trade guild for which they were made. The grandest pieces of all, however, were large two-handled 'posset' pots, for a kind of broth served at the time, often surmounted with a lid finely modelled in the form of a crown (fig 16).

A characteristic product of the later 17th and early 18th century was a range of cups, mugs and plates painted with depictions of the reigning monarch. The series seems to have commenced with the coronation of Charles II in 1660 and continued well into the reign of George II (died 1760). Such decorative plates are often painted around the borders with a scaccato decoration of blue dashes applied at an angle with a paint brush - the so-called 'blue dash chargers'. Other chargers are painted with tulips or religious scenes (fig 17). An important group of moulded lobed dishes, based on Dutch examples, leave the main body in the white tin-glaze and are painted with coats-of-arms or portraits of the monarch.

Many other wares of varying quality were made as well. The

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16) Posset pot. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue and dated 1687. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

17) Dish painted with a scene of Adam and Eve. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Probably Lambeth, London, c.1650

most important are the large group of apothecary's drug jars, painted with the name of the drug in Latin, complemented by the cut-out bleeding or barber's bowl, so-called for its use in shaving. A vast quantity of drinking-pots were produced, including novelty items such as fuddling cups (linked cups) and "puzzle jugs", where the unfortunate drinker had to stop up holes in the body in order to stop the liquid from spilling out. Porringers, plates and pedestal salts were also made. Particularly interesting is the series of six plates, called Merryman plates, after the inscriptions that they bear: What is a Merryman/ Let him do what he can/ To entertain his guests/ With wine and merry jests/ But if his wife doth frown/ All merriment goes down. These are known bearing dates from 1694 to 1742 (52).

An important but uncharacteristic product is a group of twelve delftware plates painted with allegories of the signs of the Zodiac in The British Museum. On their back they each carry the inscription J. Thornhill fecit. Delph Aug: 1711, indicating their attribution to the English painter James Thornhill and their execution in Delft itself. However, it is not clear whether they were actually painted by him, or by a painter in Delph working to his designs under his supervision (53).

By the mid 18th century the industry had spread to Liverpool, Glasgow in Scotland, and Dublin and Limerick in Ireland. Unfortunately, although we have records of a pottery industry in these places, there are relatively few documentary pieces which show what was made there. Our best evidence comes from the evidence of kiln-sites. This shows that a wide range of rather crudely painted wares in the Dutch manner were made throughout Britain. Appropriately, decoration in the chinoiserie style is more prevalent than copies after European prints, although the two were clearly made at the same time. As the 18th century progressed, the variety of British delftware constantly increased, including styles after the Chinese, a type of the Italian bianco sopra bianco, where white slip is applied above a blue coloured ground, and so-called fazackerly decoration of brilliant polychrome enamels, named after a village outside Liverpool (fig 18). Such wares became common throughout Britain, and were presumably the standard kind of ceramic for many people in 18th century Britain. As in Holland, Delftware came to incorporate new varieties of decoration that became current in the 18th century. However, production declined sharply in the

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18) Selection of delftware, including (top) blue-dash Tulip charger, London, Lambeth, c.1700, (far right) plate painted in bianco sopra bianco, Bristol, c.1750; wall bracket and dish painted in fazackerly colours, Liverpool, c.1760. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

second half of the 18th century, when the county of Staffordshire produced many more refined types of earthenware for everyday consumption. Some plates dated to the last decade of the 18th century are virtually the last gasp of this once-influential tradition.

### The Influence of the Court of Louis XIV

Though styles emanating from the East were perhaps the dominant force in European decorative design of the later 17th century, there was one style whose prestige remained overwhelming in higher circles. This was a style based on the Classicism of ancient Greece and Rome. Even though Classicism as a style might seem more applicable to architecture or sculpture than to the decorative arts, it retained a prestige that gave it a special attraction for those who were trying to assert the validity of their authority rather than demonstrate the novelty of their taste. A severe and moderate classicism remained an important influence in the art of 17th century Italy, contrasting with the more lively and undisciplined barocco art of Gian Lorenzo Bernini

(1598-1680) and his followers.

The re-introduction of Classicism into the mainstream of Western decorative design was due largely to the personal policies of the French King Louis XIV (1638-1715). Louis had ascended to an exceptionally weak throne, severely damaged by internal rebellions such as the Fronde of 1643-53. The aim of Louis XIV was to establish his position in France and indeed Europe as a whole, and to this end the whole apparatus of the French state was channelled. The influence was all-pervasive in France, and even extended to forms of production and manufacture (54).

Louis did not take direct control of government until 1661, when he ousted his finance Minister Fouquet in a ruthless coup. His chief minister had been the Italian Cardinal Mazarin, who had continued the policy of his predecessor, Cardinal Richelieu, which involved the strengthening the central power of the Crown at the expense of local privileges. He had invited prominent Italian artists and craftsmen such as Giovanni Romanelli (1610-62) and Domenico Cucci to execute lavish painting and decoration for the royal apartments in the Louvre or the Palais Royal; unfortunately, little or nothing survives of these commissions

other than a few preparatory drawings. However, the elaborate decoration of the Galerie d'Apollon of 1661-4 survives in the Louvre today and gives a foretaste of the heavy Classical style that was to become associated with the Court of Louis XIV; prominent is the rather heavy-handed use of Classical Gods and Goddesses to celebrate the virtues of the Crown, above all the use of the Sun god, Apollo, to parallel the new Sun King, Louis XIV (55).

Under the influence of Louis' chief finance minister, Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-83), all the arts of France were regimented into order to secure cultural domination of the western world to the glory of the King. This was done not simply to boost the prestige of the Crown, but as a matter of sound economic policy. Colbert's economic thinking was dominated by mercantilism, a now discredited economic theory which maintained that the quantity of the world's trade was finite, and that it was up to each country to secure as large a share as possible; this was traditional economic thinking, and reminds us that in the 16th century the celebrated philosopher Montaigne had written an essay entitled 'one man's profit is another man's loss' (le profit de l'un est dommage de l'autre). His policies were the encouragement of national industries, the abolition of internal

tariffs, the raising of external customs, and imports of precious metals with a consequent rapid circulation of money. The basic aim was self-sufficiency for France, with other countries being dependent on her, for the benefit of the Crown's prestige (56).

The chief executor of artistic policy was the Court artist Charles Le Brun (1619-1693) who promoted a version of a classical style of unparalleled richness. The Gods and Goddesses of antiquity were introduced into decorative scenes executed in the most costly of materials. The major project was the rebuilding of the King's great palace at Versailles outside Paris, and other palaces to provide an appropriate setting for the King himself. In 1663 Le Brun was made Director of the Manufacture Royale des Meubles de la Couronne, established at the Gobelins factory, where all kind of luxury goods, from tapestries through to inlaid furniture, were made. A famous tapestry from the Gobelins factory shows the King visiting the factory and admiring many of its products, which, although missing today, are traceable in inventories; particularly prominent is the silver furniture commissioned for the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles itself (57).

The chief examples of the classical court style of Louis XIV



as exemplified in ceramics was made, not in Gobeline in Paris, but at Delft in Holland, by the Greek A factory. This was a commission for a large number of flower vases and other items for the palace of Hampton Court, outside London, which was being renovated for William III of England and his wife Mary Stewart. One of the requirements was a suite of rooms for Mary II, including a china cabinet on the Dutch model and even a model dairy for the Queen and her ladies-in-waiting to play milk-maids. The designer in charge was the French Huguenot designer Daniel Marot, who had trained at the Court of Versailles, but left Paris in about 1684-5, around the time of the Edict of Nantes, which expelled all French Protestants from France. He had subsequently worked for William III at his palace at Het Loo, but travelled over to England with William and Mary in 1688 in order to help with their building projects in England (58).

The apartments themselves have been long swept away; however, what remains of this commission is an intriguing series of tall vases and flower holders in the French Classical taste, clearly designed as decoration for the main rooms, and a group of elaborately decorated tile panels and milking pans bearing the royal monogram, all painted in blue (59). The large vases were probably for small shrubs, as is often seen in paintings of the

time. They show many of the characteristics of French classicism, including an insistence on proportion and symmetry, as well as an obvious debt to classical vases in the flower vases (fig 19). There are also some tall pyramidal flower holders, comprising different sections which interlock, which became a well-known (if scarce) product of Delftware, which are probably also Marot's design (fig 20). Some embroidered wall-hangings with classical vases complement these items (60). Similar vases attributable to Marot are also found in England in houses owned by courtiers in William III's circle, such as Uppark, Chatsworth and Dyrham, showing that the taste spread amongst the British aristocracy (61).

Delftware seems also to have been imported into France, where it was recognized as a substitute for the true Eastern porcelain. An enraged character in a comedy by Dancourt of 1688 enters a friend's house and breaks toutes ces porcelaines d'Hollande for the lack of the 'finer' (i.e. true Eastern porcelain) (62). Louis XIV naturally had a collection of true

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19) Tulip vase, from a design by Daniel Marot (1663-1752). Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Height 100cm. Delft, the Greek 'A' factory, c.1690. The Royal Collection, Hampton Court

20) Pair of pyramidal tulip-holders. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Delft (the Greek A factory), c.1700

Eastern porcelain, some presented by the visit of the Ambassadors from Siam in 1686, who brought Chinese and Japanese porcelains with them as gifts to the Crown (63). Here Louis was following the taste of Mazarin and Fouquet, which was catered for by many dealers in Paris, such as Ducauray, who imported padogas, statuettes, Chinese and Japanese porcelains, for which there was a vogue in 1692 (64). This led to a vogue for chinoiserie in France which lasted well into the 18th century, leading to the extravagant taste of Madame de Pompadour in the 1750s.

Louis' great boost to the decorative arts in Europe came through his elevation of the person of the King to an almost sacred being, who should be waited on only with the finest gold and silver. Every object played a part in the daily worship of this almost divine being. Something of its flavour can be tasted from the correspondence of the English Ambassador Haris Willen Bentinck (created Earl of Portland in 1689), who was sent as ambassador to France in May, 1698. He wrote back to William III about the great honour and personal interest he had received, which included holding the King's candlestick at his ceremonial going-to bed in the evening: 'the King showed me a thousand honours; at his Coucher (ceremonial retiring to bed) he let me hold the candlestick; he himself spent the whole evening showing

me the garden and the fountains, and he never saw me...without speaking to me and entertaining me, laughing and relating all kinds of things (65). Clearly, in a country where it was considered an honour to hold the candlestick for the King, objects had advanced well-beyond their ostensible functional use and approached an almost symbolic or religious meaning.

This symbolism applied especially to the ceremony of dinner, which in this period developed into the organized ritual of which traces remain today. Under Louis XIV the art of serving dinner reached new heights of formality and elaboration; at its heart was a re-affirmation of the medieval ceremony of dinner, in which the separate status of the Lord was emphasized, whether King or, as in other countries, one of his deputies in the form of Duke, Marquis or Earl, seated in the centre of the dining chamber in his house in the centre of his estates. Our best contemporary witness is the English writer Giles Rose, who in 1681 published a translation of a French textbook on etiquette which accurately reflects contemporary usage in France: he specifies various household officers in attendance, amongst whom we can recognize the descendants of the medieval butler, carver and sewer: the Master of the Household, the Master Carver, the Master Butler (who deals with the plate, including the Bason and Ewer, the

Essay Cup and Cadnet [a personal cutlery and napkin tray for the Lord], Flagons, Salts, Plates, Spoons, Forkes, Knives, Riders for Places [Coasters?], Table-cloths, Napkins), the Master Cook, the Master Confectioner and the Master Pastryman. These latter two were responsible for the cold confection at the end of the meal that is based on the 16th century banquet and was soon to be called the dessert. Rose describes the preparations for a grand dinner in some detail, giving precise instructions as to the behaviour of the servants: The hour of Meals being come, and all things are now in a readiness, le Maistre Hostel takes a clean Napkin, folded at length, but narrow, and throws it over his Shoulder...and being come into the Hall, where the Company are to eat, he pulls off his Hat, but immediately puts it on again upon his Head, and so proceeds to the covering of the Table with Dishes and Plates, beginning at the upper end and continuing till he comes at the lower end...he should begin...at the upper end of the Table, but set on the first Dish at the right side of the Cadnet or Cover (which is always set if any great person is to be treated) and the next on the left side of the Cover, with a Plate upon a Rider between the two Dishes against the Salt-seller [sic], doing this all a long till he come to the lower end with the last dish. He then goes on to explain that all the guests wipe their hands on a towel, and that the second course is

followed by a banquet (66). Such elaborate formality enhanced the position of the host: Louis XIV is recorded as having been so incensed by a woman who sat higher at the dinner table than her rank allowed, that he could scarcely speak, but let it be known that he took this lapse as an insult to himself (67).

Such a meal required the maximum use of expensive items of cutlery and plate if it were to have its desired impact. The buffet or sideboard was decorated, as in medieval times, with great quantities of plate laid out solely for display; this was complemented by dining utensils of the greatest refinement and elaboration. It is in the mid 17th century that we get our modern idea of a dinner service, with different shaped dishes meant for different foods and occupying a particular place on the dinner table. Shaped plates had begun to appear in the mid century; for instance, the inventory of 1653 for Cardinal Mazarin, for instance, lists 15 assiettes creuses 'a l'italienne'; by 1680 we find assiettes a la mazarine listed, and the inventory of 1687 differentiates between assiettes potageres and assiettes a mouchettes (68). The concept of a complete dinner service begins to acquire a rather precise definition, with separate items for the dinner and the dessert (69).

This kind of elaboration rapidly became codified into a type of table setting that rapidly became known throughout Europe as service a la francaise, to emphasize its French origin. The meal was divided into two (or more) courses followed by a dessert consisting of fruit and jams. The essential point was that all the separate dishes in each course were laid out symmetrically in groups of four on the table at the same time, and kept warm by means of covers or underdishes of hot water. What would surprise modern taste would be the variety of foods available in a single course (service). The first course consisted of various soups and a kind of Spanish stew of mixed meats and vegetables called an olio (from the Spanish olla podrida ('rotten pot'), a mixture of boiled meats, vegetables and other things boiled slowly together over a long period of time and mentioned in Cervantes' Don Quixote (70)) (71). Stews were a great feature of French cooking and were sometimes served separately for meals outside the dining room in small covered bowls on stands called ecuelles, which were sometimes included in toilet services for the morning (72). Stews and soups at the dinner-table were supplemented by side-dishes of prepared meats (entrees) and smaller dishes of great refinement and preparation (hors d'oeuvres). The diners were expected to help themselves to whatever was in front of them and work their way through the different foods in the appropriate

order; if they wanted a dish on the other side of the table, they had to ask a servant to bring it over. The dishes of each course were changed four at a time in order to keep the symmetry. The second course consisted of the roast, accompanied by salad en jatte (in a bowl, often of Japanese porcelain, as metal would have been stained by the acidic dressing); this was supplemented by side dishes called entremets of cooked vegetables followed by cooked puddings.

Specific evidence for table-layout at the French court is seen in a drawing from the royal palace of Marly, dated 1702, in Stockholm (fig 21) (73), one of a vast body of drawings sent from the French court by the Swedish ambassador to show the Swedish court what was fashionable in France. The drawing depicts the two courses of dinner on each half of the sheet, the other half forming a mirror image, all carefully annotated with the names of the different dishes. It shows various plates and tureens for soups and olio laid out symmetrically around a centrepiece, described as a 'device for holding the sugar, vinegar etc. pepper and candlesticks in the evening' (74). This central feature was what came to be known as a surtout de table in 18th century

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21) Drawing showing the layout of dinner at the Palace of Marly in 1702, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



France (called in Germany a plat de menage and in England an epergne) which was usually a silver centrepiece with holders for the appropriate condiments and spices, which apparently remained on the table until the dessert (75). It is surrounded by the side-dishes called the entrees, with the hors d'oeuvre fitted between. The second course shows a roast, salads in a bowl (en jatte), and the side-dishes called entremets, to be eaten between the roast and the dessert (76). These first two courses would have been served at Versailles on gold or silver, as befitting the grandest ceremony of day.

Dinner was always followed by a separate meal of fruit called le fruit or later dessert (from desservir, to clear the table); in the drawing for Marly, the inscription of the drawing specifies that le fruit is excluded from this layout, since it was not considered part of dinner, but an elaborate afterthought, in the manner of coffee today. This was an entirely separate meal of fruits, jams and ice-cream, with a light-hearted character, and was often accompanied by music, dancing or other entertainment. For this lighter course the medium of porcelain to act as serving dishes was considered especially appropriate, contrasting as it did with the heaviness and formality of the gold and silver used for the first two courses before. The

moulded shapes of Japanese porcelain were especially favoured. Dessert was usually associated with the garden and the outside world and was often laid out in the form of an elaborate garden layout, with small statues in sugar-paste to mimic those that could be found in stone in the real garden outside. The fruit was often served in baskets of fruit that guests could take away with them, or between elaborate layouts called parterres after the layout of gardens. The special association with porcelain meant that the fruit - fresh or dried - was piled up high in several layers of dishes called porcelaines, though they could be, in fact, of metal (77). These were somewhat precarious; Madame de Sevigne refers to a disaster when the pyramid of fruit was much too high and with twenty porcelains, was completely overturned at the door, the noise of which silenced the violins, oboes, and trumpets (78).

The dessert was prepared separately from the main meal and was the responsibility of a separate organization from the main kitchen called the Office (often translated as pantry), the organization responsible for cold foods and confectionery. Besongne, in the Etat de la France pour 1694 gives two descriptions of a dessert, according to whether it is for the Grand Couvert, the dinner that the King took in public, or for

the Petit Couvert, when he dined in private: for the Grand Couvert "the fruit is composed of two large basins containing raw fruit, in porcelain, and two other plates with all sorts of dry jams made in cups, also in porcelain...at the petit Couvert, two small plates of raw fruit, and four compotes or liquid jams in porcelain" (79). Jams and preserved fruit were often considered as healthier than fresh fruit, which was thought to cause fevers and wind.

The dessert course being associated with outdoors, was often taken out of doors with some kind of entertainment. The descriptions of the festivities at the Court of Versailles give some kind of flavour of their usage and appropriateness, where the skills of the Office, and the Menus Plaisirs (the organization that catered for royal entertainments) were paramount. A description of a festival called Pleasures of the Enchanted Isle, held at Versailles in May, 1664, shows their inventiveness. The theme was taken from the Courtly 16th century Italian poet Ariosto, who had celebrated knightly chivalry in his poem Orlando Furioso; Versailles was thought to be an island, inhabited by Roger and his knights put under a three day spell by the sorceress Alcina, which is eventually broken by the use of a magic ring given to Roger by Melissa disguised as Atlas. On the

first day, the king attended a feast, on the second day a collation was prepared by the office, composed of all kinds of fruits ingeniously arranged in one hundred dozen little porcelain dishes, which served as the solid body of the agreeable building. It was divided by sixteen arcades, and each arcade had two pairs of serpentine columns which carried the cornice. These columns were gilded and garnished with flowers, as were the bases and capitals. In the middle of the arcade hung double garlands, and above the columns were chandeliers illuminated with candles. One hundred little vases of tuberose and orange flowers were set on the cornice, completing the decoration of the upper part of the building. But the almost incredible quantity of porcelain basins and dishes filled with fruit, and the large number of crystal vases used for the ice and liqueurs, made this table a sumptuous one, on which the foods were served with extraordinary magnificence (80). At the end of these feasts the public were often allowed in, and contemporary accounts often refer to the eating and destruction of these confections by the lesser guests (81).

The great artistic achievement of the dessert course was the building of the Trianon de Porcelaine, at Versailles in 1670-1. This was a small pavilion designed for entertainment and

relaxation comprising a central banqueting hall (banqueting in its 17th century sense of having a dessert or outside meal), with two large side pavilions for the preparation of soups and fruit, and two more smaller pavilions for the preparations of jams and the second courses dishes called entremets. It was not actually composed of porcelain, but decorated with plaques, vases and tiles of tin-glazed earthenware which covered the walls from floor to ceiling; even the garden seats outside were painted in the manner of porcelain. The interior was tiled with mirrors and blue and white tiles of tin-glazed earthenware, some with their characteristic additional yellow and violet colouring; the roof was decorated with earthenware flower-pots and the whole was described by contemporaries as Chinese in taste (82). The tiles came from the Dutch or French factories at Delft or Nevers, Liesieux and Pre-d'Auge, were imported through the dealer Claude Reverend (83). The whole was suitably fragile and had a short life, as it was damaged by frost in the harsh French winter and was demolished in 1687.

The taste for Classicism and chinoiserie was eventually to make itself felt on French ceramics. In general, pottery remained uninfluenced by the court style of Louis XIV until the turn of the century. There continued a vigorous tin-glazed earthenware

(faience) industry in France in the mid 17th century, based on the maiolica tradition of prints as a source for the central designs, as for instance, the faience made at Nevers or Rouen. The former comprised some magnificent pieces including large ewers and plates painted after prints after the French classical artist Michel Dorigny. Towards the middle of the century the taste for Chinese-style decoration began to creep in, especially at the factory at Nevers, where figurative decoration was popular. An especially interesting development was painting in colours on a blue-glazed background in imitation of Eastern wares, the so-called bleu persan ground. This was especially popular at Nevers, where a specific variety of vases with twisted rope-like handles was produced. Fragments of such vases have been found in excavations of the Trianon de Porcelaine (84).

The economic problems of Louis XIV's numerous wars had the effect of leading to a rise in the status of tin-glazed pottery in France itself. It was in 1689 that the first of the financial crises, caused by Louis XIV's extravagant wars, led to a general calling in and melting down of silver and plate. Everyone was expected to bring his or her silver to the Crown to contribute to the national coffers; another great melt-down occurred in 1709, and also in 1759, which is partly why French 18th century silver

is so rare. The destruction of 1709 was recorded by the courtier Saint-Simon in his memoirs, who describes how Madame de Gramont tried to persuade the courtiers to present their silver to the King, but 'Some people clung to their silver plates as a last resource, and dreading parting with them; others feared the dirtiness of pewter and earthenware'. But eventually even the King himself set an example: 'Everyone of rank furnished themselves in eight days with faience, exhausting the shops...the King began to obtain faience, sending his gold plate to the Mint, and his brother the Duc d'Orleans the little that he had...the King and the royal family itself used silver plate, while Prince and Princesses of the Blood used faience (the name for tin-glazed earthenware in France and Germany) (85).

These were the circumstances for the great blossoming of the French faience industry in the production of luxury items for the dinner table. The main centre was the factory at Rouen, run by Edme Poterat, who in 1647 had obtained a 50 year's monopoly of the manufacture of faience. The monopoly ended in 1696, by which time the number of factories in Rouen had risen to eighteen. The factory made a large variety of good quality faience and was allowed to use the fleur-de-lys as a mark in 1713 (86). The range of shapes and types was increased to include every kind of item

for the dinner-table that had been made in silver: salt-cellars, casters, shaped dishes, and even centrepieces (the surtout de table), although on a smaller scale. The shapes often owed little or nothing to the potter's wheel and were based on fashionable silver shapes, characterized by heavy forms, vessels of segmental shape, often decorated with gadrooning (convex fluting) on the base of the vessel. Best known is the helmet-shaped ewer, which seems to have originated with the King's designer Jean Berain (1640-1711) as a design for silver (fig 21,22).

More interesting are new kinds of objects that made their appearance with the development of service a la francaise and its attendant luxury items. The best known today is perhaps the two-handled vase for cooling individual bottles of wine (seau), which was made from the late 17th century onwards. The bottle rested in a bed of ice (preserved outside in deep pits of snow from the winter) on the dinner table until its contents were thoroughly chilled. The wine-glasses themselves were chilled in a bowl with serrated edges (raffraichissoir). Here the glasses were laid head

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21) Jean Berain (1640-1711), Design for a silver ewer. Pen and black ink with grey wash, 40.2 X 26.7 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

22) Drawing of a faience ewer from Rouen (from Pottier, Histoire de la Faience de Rouen)



down in a bed of ice, with the stems supported on the serrated edges. This fashion spread to England, where they were christened monteiths after a nobleman of that name who favoured a serrated edge on his cloak. Such costly items well epitomized the taste for excessive luxury of Louis' court.

The painted decoration on these items also followed silver decoration, characterized by strapwork and foliate ornament. The dominant decorative style for round items such as plates was the style rayonnant, in which the border patterns radiate outwards, or hang upside down on hollow wares. Individual motifs included spiral or leaf-designs in white on a blue ground or vice-versa, and lambrequins, a trefoil with spirals reserved on a blue ground copied from Chinese Kang Hsi porcelain (fig 23). Swags of fruit also appear, and kinked scrollworks similar to ironwork (ferronnerie). Most pieces were painted in blue, but for more ambitious pieces a range of grand feu colours were used as in Italian maiolica (so-called because of their ability to withstand high temperatures in the kiln), including blue (cobalt), green (copper oxide), purple (manganese), yellow (antimony) orange (iron)). Polychrome pieces were also especially popular in this

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23) Designs from plate borders, painted in blue. (from Pottier, Histoire de la Faïence de Rouen, pl. XVIII)

later period, and oriental flowers found on pieces from the Guillibaud factory. In the early 18th century, when the aristocracy were required to melt down their plate, there were a vogue for 'armorial' wares, or dinner wares decorated with a coat-of-arms in the centre identifying the owner, a practice which was also popular on imported Chinese porcelain.

Not all pieces were dinner wares. Some especially ambitious pieces were made by the factory of Pierre Chapelle, including a great pair of ceramic globes of about 1725. Nicolas Fouqay, successor to Louis Poterat, died in 1742 leaving five busts of Apollo and the Seasons, now in the Louvre and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. With their classical drapery and pedestals, they represent the extent to which the Classical style of the court of Louis XIV could be imitated in pottery.

As the 18th century progressed, the faience of Rouen became increasingly a product for a more middling market, and the style of its ceramics was increasingly left behind by developments in fashionable taste. Some large jugs decorated in the rayonnant style for cider or ale are dated from 1708 onwards and inscribed with the owners' names, in the manner of much popular pottery. By the mid 18th century, polychrome high-fired decoration a la

corne had become popular, where the dominant motif is a large cornucopia-like object surrounded by flattened Eastern-style floral decoration (fig 24). This decoration is similar to "bizarre" woven silks of Lyons, which were popular throughout Europe in the late 17th and early 18th century. These were silks and other woven textiles with a repeating pattern consisting of exotic plants with strange pod-like flowers, inspired by Eastern designs. They were at one time thought to be true Eastern fabrics, but have a richness and denseness of design and patterning which reveals their origin in the early 18th century. The lighter ones were intended as dress material; the cut of the dress seldom changed, but the patterns of the silks changed each year as the purchaser strove to keep up with fashion.

Other centres of faience were located in south of France, in the region around Marseilles. The village of Moustiers, about 60 miles north-east of Marseilles, contained several different factories which made it an important centre. The main factory was founded by Pierre Clerissy in about 1679, with such success that his descendants acquired a patent of nobility. This made some fine blue-and-white wares, but it is most notable for its use of

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24) Plate with decoration a la corne. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Rouen, c.1750-60. Musee Ceramique, Rouen.

decoration in the revived-grotesque manner of the Court designer Jean Berain (1637-1711) (fig 25, 26). This had developed by the end of the 17th century, when people had grown tired of the overwhelming heaviness of most Classical decoration, and in 1698 the King himself told his architect Mansard on seeing new plans for room decoration that there should be something youthful in what is done in new room decorations, though apparently this was in reference to the decoration of children's rooms (87). Berain adapted the grotesque style, in which Classical allusions are retained, but within such as decorative framework that their symbolism and seriousness is diluted. Classical Gods and Goddesses now peer at each other amongst the scrolling foliage, which supports a weight of fanciful ornament which would have been impossible in a more architecturally organized design. This was a naturally flat style, intended for wall decoration, which was best suited to large platters or dishes.

Decoration in colours was introduced by another factory, that of Joseph Laugier and his brother-in-law, Joseph Olerys, set up in 1739. The latter had worked, with other French potters, at

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25) Jean Berain (1640-1711), Grotesque. Engraving.

26) Dish. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Moustiers, factory of Clerissy, c.1710. The British Museum, London

the faience factory set up at Alcora in Spain, where they had introduced the Berain style. At Moustiers they developed a style consisting of a central panel with religious or mythological scenes, surrounded by a border of hanging festoons, painted in the high-fired colours of blue, orange-yellow, violet and yellow-green (fig 27). A related factory was set up at Saint Jean du Desert near Marseilles, when in 1677 Joseph Clerissy, the brother of Pierre, arrived from Moustiers and ran a factory till 1733. This made some magnificent large plates with a central scene in the manner of those from Nevers. It closed in 1748. By then the faience of Moustiers itself was increasingly crude in quality, although inventive in style, characterized by a decoration of fantastic human or animal figures scattered over the surface with sprays of foliage. Although inventive, they gave little sense of the quality of the earlier pieces, and were technically and artistically bypassed by new developments in European ceramic manufacture.

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27) Plate. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Moustiers, c.1750. Diameter 10 1/8 inches. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

1. Both these substances are closely related, both being silicates of alumina, the china clay being composed of decomposing granite, the china stone being a harder version. The china clay was mined from river beds; both materials required sieving and purifying before being used to mould objects, or else the objects would be cracked in the kiln. The proportions of these substances can be varied, but the ideal balance would be to be half and half. The glaze was composed mostly of pentunse, which was mixed with water and some vegetables ashes (for instance, those from ferns) in order to strengthen it.

2. Y. Hackenbroch, 'Chinese Porcelain in European Silver Mounts', The Connoisseur, June, 1955, pp. 22-29

3. It was subsequently in the collection of the French Dauphin in the late 17th century and drawn by the antiquarian Gaignieres in 1713 which remains our best record of its appearance. Later it passed into the collections of the great antiquary William Beckford, who kept it as his great Gothic palace of Fonthill in Wiltshire. It emerged at the sale of his son-in-law's descendants, the Duke of Hamilton, in 1882, stripped of its mounts, and was bought, unrecognized, by the museum of Dublin, only to be rediscovered by the great ceramic historian Arthur Lane in 1961. See A. Lane, 'The Gaignieres-Fonthill Vase, a Chinese Porcelain of about 1300', The Burlington Magazine, CIII, 1961, pp. 124-132

4. S. Bursche, Tafelzier des Barock, Munich, 1974, 18

5. L. Klein, 'Princely Porcelain at Kassel', Apollo, September, 1990, p. 181

6. S. Bursche, Tafelzier des Barock, Munich, 1974, p. 18

7. J. Graca, 'The Portuguese Trade with China', Arts of Asia, November-December, 1977, pp. 45-51

8. D. F. Lusingh Scheurleer, Chinese Export Porcelain, London, 1974, p. 22. The best short introduction to the subject of imports of Eastern porcelain to Europe is Soames Jenyns, 'Exports

from the Orient', Apollo, June, 1975, pp. 490-92

9. Lusingh Scheurleer, op. cit., p. 48

10. ed. C.L. van der Pijl-Ketel, The Ceramic Load of the Witteleeuw (1613), Amsterdam, 1982

11. In 1616 the Company agreed to present each year to the Admiralties of Amsterdam and those of other towns among other things six butter-dishes, six fruit-dishes, six saucers, two third-size dishes, one full-sized dish, or instead of this last one or two large cups or third-sized dishes.

12. Lusingh Scheurleer, op.cit., p.55

13. Lunsingh Scheurleer, op.cit., p.49

14. T. Volker, 'Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as recorded in the DAGH registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other Contemporary Papers 1602-1682', Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 11, Leiden, 1954, p.22

15. C.H. de Jonge, Delft Ceramics, London, 1970, p.22-23

16. the best modern summary of the tin-glazed earthenware industry in 17th century Holland is J.D. van Dam, 'Geleyersgoet en Hollands Porceleyn ontwikkelingen in de Nederlandse aardewerk-industrie 1560-1660', Mededelingenblad nederlandse vereniging van vrienden van de ceramiek, 108, pp.6-80

17. H.P. Fourest, Delftware: Faience Production at Delft, London, 1980, pp.19-20

18. de Jonge, op.cit., p.34

19. H.P. Fourest, Delftware, London, 1980, no.47

20. de Jonge, op.cit., p.40

21. see Christies catalogue, The Vung Tau Cargo, Amsterdam, 7-8th April, 1992

22. see, for instance, an illustration of a Dutch interior Gonzales Coques of about 1630 in P. Thornton, Authentic Decor: The Domestic Interior 1620-1920, London, 1984, no.16

23. T. Volker, op.cit., p.3

24. A. Lane, 'Queen Mary II's Porcelain Collection at Hampton

pp.21-31; Joan Wilson, 'A Phenomenon of Taste: The China Ware of Queen Mary II' Apollo, 126, 1972, pp.116-24; L.Rosenfeld Shulsky, 'The arrangement of the porcelain and Delftware collection of Queen Mary. in Kensington Palace', American Ceramic Circle Journal, vol.VII, 1990, pp.51-74

25.Volker, op.cit. p.48

26.Th.H.Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'The Dutch at Tea-Table', The Connoisseur, October, 1976, pp.85-

27.Lusingh Scheurleer, op.cit, p.167

28.maecken van roode Theepotten...tot sodanighe perfectie heeft gebracht, dat dezelve in couleur, netheyt, sterckte en gebruyck de Indische niet behoeven te wijcken. De Jonge, op.cit.p.64

29.De Jonge, op.cit. pp.65-69

30.Volker, op.cit. p.126

31.The Company wrote from Deshima to Batavia; If this lot had not been in stock, we should not have been able to fill the order for Surat before next year, as it consists mainly of various kinds of bowls, large, deep dishes, coffee-cups and the like which the Japanese do not stock of their own accord. Volker, op.cit. p.135

32.F.Scholten, 'Vroege Japonaiserie in Delft, 1660-1680', Mededelingenblad Nederlandse Vereniging van vrienden van de ceramiek, 1987, 3, p.17

33.The red assortment was much desired, 36 show pots for cabinets, cost price 2 florins, nine s.sold at Enkhuisen for 140 florins.. G.Jackson-Stops in The Treasure Houses of Britain, Washington, 1984, no.131

34.coloured jars of six square.

35.Deux pots a tabac de porcelaine de la Chine repeinte en Hollande. Lusingh Scheulreer, op.cit., p.179

36.F.Reichel, Early Japanese Porcelain, London, 1981, p.127



37. In 1734 the Dutch East India Company complained about the difficulty of having European designs executed in China, lamented that: if this work will not succeed in China, how then shall it succeed in Japan where the wages of the porcelain bakers come much dearer Volker, op.cit., p.80

38. Volker, op.cit., p.65

39. Lusingh Scheuleer, op.cit., p.34

40. The process is recorded in their registers: on the 12th March, 1734 the VOC tells Batavia to buy at Canton: porcelain to consist of coffee and tea things, tall standing pieces for decoration on mantelpieces, be it coloured or beautiful blue and white and specially table sets of dishes, plates and sundry. T.Volker, "The Japanese Porcelain Trade of the Dutch East India Company after 1683", p.38?

41. we had intended to send you some samples of well-baked porcelains to have the same imitated in China, which to make ready we have done what we could, but we heard from the porcelain-bakers at Delft, that this could indeed be done for blue and white but not for coloured wares, because their kilns are not appointed for this. Since then we have been informed that if the Chinese had some well-painted designs before them, they would be able to copy them. Several amateurs here who had sent drawings to China have shown us their sample pieces which when sold have yielded an extraordinary profit, which we have decided to try also....the work shall have to be not only blue and white as abovesaid, but also coloured in two ways, that is enamelled and also, smooth and even glazed as shown by the coloured Japanese porcelain, because the enamelled work looks beautiful indeed, but has the fault that it is sometimes apt to come off, from which the evenly and smoothly coloured work, like the Japanese does not suffer. T.Volker, "The Japanese Porcelain Trade of the Dutch East India Company after 1683", p.38

42. Volker, op.cit., pp.78-81

43. Lusingh Scheurleer, op.cit., p.103

44. C.J.A.Jorg, The Geldermalsen: History and Porcelain, Groningen, 1986 and C.Sheaf, and R.Kilburn, The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes: The Complete Record, Oxford, 1988

45. Their aim was stated in a letter to the Graf of Hanau in 1675: Wir wollen diese Manufaktur noch um ein Merkliches zu verstaercken, und mit einer ganz neuen Invention, wodurch das feinste dem chinesischen nicht viel nachgebende Porzellan verfertigt wird [We want to strengthen this manufacture into a notable one, to make it equal to the finest Chinese porcelain through a new invention]. They obtained a twenty-five years monopoly within Hanau, as well as exemption from customs duties and certain Beschwerden. By 1675 the factory employed 75 people, mostly Dutch and directed by a Dutchman, Johannes Balij. For most of the 18th century it was run by the van Alphen family, who brought the factory to its highest point. The factory survived until 1806. A.Merk, 'Hanauer Fayencen', Weltkunst, 59, 21, 1 November, 1989, pp.3294-9. See also exhibition catalogue, Historisches Museum, Hanau, 1979

46. See exhibition catalogue Frankfurter Fayencen des Barock, Frankfurt, 1988/9

47. R.J.Charleston in L.Lipski and M.Archer, Dated English Delftware, London, 1984, p.9

48. F.Britton, London Delftware, London, 1987, p.84

49. W.M.Beaumont, 'The Pedigree of Blue-dash chargers', The Connoisseur, September, 1925, pp.3-6

50. R.Hildyard, 'A group of dated Southwark delftwares', The Burlington Magazine, CXXXII, May, 1990, pp.354-5

51. F.Britton, 'Bernard Palissy and London Delftware', English Ceramic Society Transactions, 14, 2 (1991), pp.169-76

52. F.H.Garner, English Delftware, London, 1958, p.14

53. H.P.Fourest, op.cit., pp.124-5

54. for a recent study, see P.Burke, The Fabrication of Louis XIV, London, 1992

55. D.Watkin, 'Louis XIV', Antique, Winter, 1988, pp.53-58

56. T.Hutchinson, Before Adam Smith: The Emergence of Political Economy 1662-1776, Oxford, 1988, pp.88-9

57.F.Buckland, 'Silver Furnishings at the Court of France 1643-70', The Burlington Magazine, CXXXI, May, 1989, pp.328-36

58. see catalogue by E.E.Dee et al Courts and Colonies: The William and Mary Style in Holland, England, and America, New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, 1988

59.A.Lane, 'Daniel Marot, Designer of Delft', The Connoisseur, CXXIII, 1949, pp.19-24; A.M.L.E.Erkelens, "'s Koninginnes Gonst. Delftse vazen van Mary Stuart (1663-1695)", Antiek, 23, no.2, Aug/Sept. 1988, pp.88-93

60.H.Coutts, 'Hangings for a Royal Closet', Country Life, October 13, 1988, pp.232-3

61.M.Archer, 'Delft at Dyrham', The National Trust Year Book, 1975-76, pp.12-19; 'Pyramids and Pagodas for Flowers', Country Life, 22nd January, 1976, pp.166-9

62.Lane, op.cit., p.16

63.These brought Chinese porcelains in Japanese cases, including Douze autres assiettes du Japon de diverses couleurs, 6 assiettes a huit cotes, du Japon, 1 plat ouvrage a jour, du Japon, 1 oiseau de proie et 2 canards du Japon, and 6 vases, some Chinese, some Japanese. E.Auscher, La Ceramique au Chateau de Versailles Sous Louis XIV, Versailles, 1903, pp.23-30

64. In 1671 1058 pieces, comprising a whole dinner service were bought. An inventory of 1673 lists all kinds of things connected with dinner table and display, including cadenats (a box-like container, usually of gold or silver, for one's napkin, knife and fork, used only by the King and the greatest in the land), wine-containers, calbassess, urns and vases, cups, flagons, and ewers, in all 695 pieces. By 1681 there were a further 409 pieces, including Japanese vases and 2 'calbasses de Perse'. By 1718 there 2714 pieces in the collection, many the result of gifts from the Ambassadors of Siam in 1686.

65.Le Roy m'a fait mille honneurs, a son coucher il m'a fait donner le bourgeois; il m'a montre luy meme le jardin et les fontaines, se promenant toute la soiree, et il ne m'a jamais

vu...sans me parler et m'entretenir en riant et parlant de toutes sortes de choses, quoted in G.Jackson-Stops

66.Giles Rose A School of Instructions (1681)(a translation of the French Escole Parfaite des Officiers de Bouche), p.4

67.) M.Visser, The Rituals of Dinner, London, 1992, p.pp.127-8

68.E.Auscher, op.cit., p.47

69.The inventory of the French Crown on the 20th February, 1673, a service complet de vermeil dore for twelve people is listed. It comprised 231 pieces, comprising douze plats, huit assiettes de fonds, huit moyen plats, quarante-huit assiettes ordinaires, deux bassins ovales, un bassin rond, quatre esquieres, quatre sous-couppes, quatre colliers, huit flambeaux, quatre sallieres rondes, vingt-quatre cuilliers, vingt-quatre fourchettes, dix-huit manches de couteaux, un sucrier, un vinaigrier, une assiette a mouchette, douze cuilleres, douze fourchettes, douze cousteaux (a dessert), dix plats, douze assiettes potageres, un poivrier H.Havard, Dictionnaire de l'Ameublement de de la Decoration, Paris, 1889-90, vol.4, p.1055

70.N.Butcher, Spanish Cookery, London, 1990, pp.129-31

71.A description of 1765 describes it as a ragout des Espagnols qui consiste dans un melange de toutes sortes de viandes et de legumes, et qu'on fait cuire dans une large marmite...iln'y a quere de grande table en France ou ce mets ne soit pas connu. Savill, 1988, p.737.

72.a Parisian silver ecuelle of 1672-3 is in the Victoria and Albert Museum; see R.Lightbown, Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogues: French Silver, London, 1978, no.39. An anonymous French engraving of about 1750 in the National Gallery, Scotland, shows a woman reading at a table by the fireside with an ecuelle in front of her.

73.Dee, 1988, No.36

74. la machine ou l'on met le sucrier, vinaigrier etc. le poivre et les bougets en soir. G.Walton, Versailles a Stockholm, Paris, Institut Culturel Suedois, 1985, p.180

75. In F. Massialot's Le Cuisinier royal et bourgeois (first published 1691; extensively revised and republished as Le Nouveau cuisinier royal et bourgeois in 1712) one is illustrated with the caption that it remains on the table pendant tous les services (during all the courses). Illustrated (without caption) La table d'un roi: L'Orfèvrerie du XVIIIe siècle a la Cour de Danemark, Paris, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, 1987-8, p.90

76. R. Savill, The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Sevres Porcelain, London, 1988, p.745

77. an illustration of such a device being brought into a dance at the Court of Louis XIV can be seen in Thornton, op.cit., fig.74

78. B.K. Wheaton, Savouring the Past: The French Kitchen & Table from 1300 to 1789, London, 1983, p.188

79. Fruit est compose de 2 grand bassins de fruits crud dans de porcelaines, et 2 autres plats de toutes sortes de confitures seches faites au goblet, aussi en porcelaine... Au petit couvert, 2 petits plats de fruit crud, de confitures seches dressees dans des porcelaines, et de 4 compotes ou confitures liquides en porcelaine. E. Auscher, op.cit., p.23

80. A. Felibien, Les Plaisirs de l'Isle Enchantee, quoted in B.K. Wheaton, Savouring the Past: The French Kitchen & Table from 1300 to 1789, London, 1983, p.133

81. the destruction of so handsome an arrangement served to give another agreeable entertainment to all the court, by the alacrity and disorder of those who demolished these castles of marzipan, and these mountains of preserved fruit. Similarly at a fete organized by Colbert in the park at Versailles in July, 1678 fifteen tables arranged as buffets contained one filled with pyramids of preserved fruits, and another with an infinity of glasses filled with all kinds of liqueurs, and the last was composed of caramels. Between the tables were orange trees bearing preserved fruit; on either side stood two other trees with similar fruit of different species. B.K. Wheaton, op.cit., pp.134-135

82. The Comte de Prehac commented in 1698 that Everybody thought of this palace as an enchantment, as it had only been begun at the end of winter, and was discovered ready in the spring, as if it had sprung from the ground with the flowers of the garden. quoted in J. Rykwert, The First Moderns: The Architects of the



83. In 1664 he had been granted letters patent for un secret admirable et curieux qui est de faire la faïence et contrefaire la porcelaine aussi belle et plus que celle qui vient des Indes orientales, lequel secret il a mis sous sa perfection en Hollande, ou il en a fait quantité dont la plupart existent encore. In 1670 and 1672 he was paid for vases de fayence a mettre des orangers et des fleurs, les dits vases de la manufacture de Saint-Cloud qu'il a fournies a Versailles. Similarly the merchant Pierre Le Maire features in the accounts until 1689 for supplying porcelain and 66 vases façon de porcelaine in 1677. E.Auscher, 'La Ceramique au Chateau de Versailles Sous Louis XIV', Versailles, 1903

84.Lane, op.cit., p.12

85.les uns la gardaient pour une dernière ressource, dont il les fachoit fort de se priver; d'autres craignoient la malpropiété de l'étain et de la terre, Tout ce qu'il y eut de grand et de considerable se mit en huit jours en faïence, en epuiserent les boutiques...le Roi agita de se mettre a la faïence, il envoya sa vaisselle d'or a la Monnaie, et M. le duc d'Orleans le peu qu'il avait...Le Roi et la famille royale se servirent de vaisselle de vermeil et d'argent; les princes et les princesses du Sang, de faïence. Pour d'Antin, qui en avait (de la vaisselle d'or) en grand quantité et de la plus achevée, il courut a Paris choisir force porcelaine admirable, qu'il eut a grand enlever, et enlever deux boutiques de faïences qu'il fit porter pompeusement a Versailles. ed.L.Norton, Historical Memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon, vol.1, London, 1967, p.438, 440

86.Auscher, op.cit., p.22

87.Il faut qu'il y ait de la jeunesse mele dans ce que l'on fera. F.Kimball, The Creation of the Rococo, 1943, p.58

## Chapter 6: The Discovery of True Porcelain in Europe

We have already seen, in Chapter 3, the attempts made in 16th century Florence to discover the secret of true porcelain. These attempts were based on the assumption that porcelain was a kind of glass, made with similar ingredients. The limited success achieved at the Medici court seems to have gone largely unchallenged for a hundred years, with the exception of some interesting attempts made in Padua in the 17th century. Two bowls in the Victoria and Albert Museum inscribed 'I.G.P.F. 1627' and 'C.G.P.F. 1638' may be the results of these experiments, the last two initials meaning Padorano fece (1). The style of these bowls, with their painting of birds and plants in underglaze blue, is a version Chinese blue-and-white porcelain of the reign of Wan Li (1572-1620).

The next productive attempts seem to have been made in France by the dealer Claude Reverend, supplier of faience to the Trianon de Porcelaine, who obtained a licence to make porcelain in 1664; however, nothing that he may have made is known today. In Rouen the pottery manufacturer Louis Poterat took out a patent in 1673 for the making of porcelain, which was renewed in 1694 when the pottery patent of 1644 was coming to an end. He did not, apparently, get very far, and in 1694 it was said that 'the secret was very little used, the petitioners devoting themselves rather to faience-making'. However, a few specimens of soft-paste

porcelain painted in underglaze blue are known which could be of Rouen manufacture, including some vases and a mustard-pot bearing the arms of Asselin de Villequier family of Rouen in the Musee at Sevres. Poterat claimed exclusive knowledge of the secret and it is presumed to have died with him on his death in 1696, 'crippled in his limbs by the ingredients used in his porcelain' (2).

Greater success was obtained by the soft-paste porcelain factory at Saint-Cloud, on the outskirts of Paris, set up in about 1693 by the family of Pierre Chicaneau under the patronage of the King's brother, the Duc d'Orleans; in the patent of 1702 it was stated that he had produced works almost as perfect as those made in China and the East (3). The factory seems to have produced a range of blue and cup and saucers with a deep recess to hold the cup, as well as little objects, such as knife handles and salt cellars, painted in underglaze blue. The factory was visited and favourably reviewed by the English visitor Dr. Martin Lister (1639?-1712), when he visited Paris with the British Ambassador William Bentinck in 1698: I saw the 'Potterie of St. Clou [sic]', with which I was marvellously well pleased, for I confess I could not distinguish betwixt the Pots made there, and the finest China Ware I ever saw. It will, I know, be easily granted me, that the Paintings may be better designed and finisht, (as indeed it was), because our Men are far better Masters in that Art, than the Chinese; but the Glazing



came not in the least behind theirs, not for whiteness, nor the smoothness of running without bubbles [sic]; again, the inward Substance and Matter of the Pots was, to me, the very same,, hard and firm as Marble, and the self same grain, on this side vitrification. Farther the transparency of the Pots the very same....They sold these Pots at St.Clou at excessive Rates; and for their ordinary Chocolate Cups askt Crowns a-piece. They had arrived at the Burning on Gold in neat Chequer Works. He had sold some Furnitures of Tea Tables at 400 Livres a Sett...There was no Molding or Model of China Wares, which they had not imitated; and had added many Fancies of their own, which had their good effects, and appeared very beautiful (4). The factory continued to make soft-paste porcelain versions of articles normally made in silver, such as bottle coolers, albeit in a rather heavy paste and in an increasingly old-fashioned style; it clearly could not compete with other factories in the later 18th century and was closed in 1766 after a number of changes of ownership.

An attempt to make porcelain was made in England at Fulham in London by the stoneware maker John Dwight of Fulham, who obtained in 1671 a patent for the manufacture of transparent earthenware commonly known by the name of Porcelain of China or Persian Ware. We have seen that he had already had success in making imitations of German stoneware, but he was less successful in his attempts to make porcelain. Recently excavated wasters from his pottery suggest that he got very close to producing the

real thing, and include small Chinese-style baluster and fluted vases painted (unsuccessfully) in underglaze blue (5). The reason for his failure seems to have lain in his inability to create a paste which would not warp in the firing, due to his lack of knowledge of the essential ingredient, china-clay (kaolin). True knowledge of the making of Chinese porcelain was not available in the West until the writings of the Jesuit missionary Pere d'Entrecolles, in his letters of 1712 and 1722, which were not available until later in the 18th century (6).

The secret (or arcantum, the Latin name used) of porcelain was also sought in Germanic countries, where it was used both as room decoration in the Dutch manner, and also for the new fashions of tea and coffee-drinking, with a concomitant demand for porcelain. The fashion for drinking coffee and chocolate has spread through Europe in the 17th century, and coffee houses had spread throughout the world rapidly in the 17th century, reaching Paris in 1643, London in 1652, Hamburg in 1671, and Vienna in 1683. However, it was on the European mainland that it took strongest hold, and in particular the Germanic countries in the centre (7). A print by the engraver Johann Elias Ridinger (1698-1767) shows a fashionable couple in undress (presumably they have just got up) drinking coffee and chocolate from handleless or two-handled cups with saucer, clearly of fine porcelain, with a coffee and presumably chocolate pot on the table; the verses in German and Latin below extol the medicinal properties of coffee

and chocolate, especially when drunk in small quantities (fig 1)

Germany followed French practice in preferring porcelain for the dessert, called the Konfekt ('confection') in Germany on account of the numerous sweet and sugary pastries that were supplied by Konditorei (confectionery), the equivalent of the French Office (pantry), the department of the kitchen responsible for preparing cold foods. The use of porcelain specifically for the dessert course was recommended in Maria Sophia Schellhammer's book Die wol unterwiesene Koechinn, (Brunswick, 1697), and the great traveller Lady Montague observed the practice of using porcelain for the dessert in Vienna in 1716. This could well have been Japanese porcelain, as this was the most fashionable style, and came in a variety of shapes that were thought suitable for the layout of a dessert course (8). In 1717 the Dresden court specifically bought in Paris a service of Japanese porcelain for the dessert (9).

The prospect of German princes buying Eastern porcelains from Parisian dealers ran contrary to the prevailing economic doctrine of mercantilism, which as we have seen meant countries producing their own goods and exporting to others in the belief that international trade was a finite quantity to be divided up between countries. In Germany a version of the doctrine called

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1) J.D. Ridinger (1698-1767), Kaffee und Chocolata, copper-engraving, c.1730

cameralism (from Kameral-wissenschaft, a kind of political and administrative studies) obtained, which stressed the strengthening of the State within its own territory, rather than expanding its borders. Its main proponent was Johann Joachim Becker (1635-82), who stressed the importance of consumption and spending, rather than saving, as a means of keeping the economy moving, but thought that imports should be kept to a minimum. His maxim was that One must always see that money is kept in the country and that still more is brought in from abroad. His follower, the Austrian Philipp von Hoernigk (1640-1714) advocated the banning of all imports which duplicated goods made locally, even if these were of inferior quality. This was aimed at the French, who even then had a reputation for producing luxury goods of no great use (10). In these circumstances it made sense for the state to subsidize research into the secret of making porcelain and other luxury goods, in order to retain specie in the country.

The greatest prince in Germany was perhaps Augustus II of Saxony (1670-1733), called the Strong for his capacity to father illegitimate children. He was dedicated to building up his country geographically and financially in the manner of Louis XIV of France, a policy which led him into several wars, including one with Sweden (1700-06) and the incorporation of Poland within his Kingdom. His capital, Dresden, thus became the capital of one of the most prosperous Kingdoms in Europe. The wealth of Saxony

was based on its rich mineral deposits in the Erzgebirge (the Ore mountains), which also yielded deposits of semi-precious stones. Augustus set up a Court workshop for the making of precious objects, reminiscent of the workshops at the 16th century Medici court, whose products were stored in the Grüne Gewölbe (Green Vaults), reconstructed in 1723 directly under the King's private apartments in the Royal Palace. These activities were just a part of a much wider economic plan, intended to build up the military and economic might of Saxony (11).

A great King such as Augustus was naturally also an avid collector of porcelain, and he went to extraordinary lengths to obtain rare specimens. Much of his collection still survives today in Dresden, filling several galleries and storerooms with shelf upon shelf of rare and beautiful Chinese and Japanese porcelain. His most celebrated exploit as a collector came in 1717, with the exchange with Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia, of 600 soldiers from his army in return for 151 large Chinese blue and white vases from the palaces of Oranienburg and Charlottenburg in Berlin. This story has recently been verified from contemporary accounts, and the vases associated with this transaction still exist in Dresden today and are called 'Dragoon' vases in remembrance of the unfortunate soldiers (12).

Augustus naturally encouraged attempts to discover the secret of making porcelain, employing the scientist Ehrenfried

Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651-1708). Tschirnhaus was one of those polymaths, similar to John Dwight, whose knowledge encompassed a wide variety of fields which today would be considered separate disciplines. He had published a scientific work on medicine, Medicina Mentis et Corporis in Amsterdam in 1686/7, and travelled extensively in Europe, where he had met the philosopher Leibnitz in Paris. For Augustus he undertook a survey of mineral resources in Saxony, and in 1701 revisited Holland and France, examining the factory at Saint Cloud in 1701, and studied the Delftware industry in Holland. He is supposed to have criticized the import of china, with consequent loss of silver to Saxony, as the bleeding bowl of Saxony (13). Tschirnhaus had sent Leibnitz an alleged specimen of porcelain as early as 1694; however, it is unlikely to have been genuine, as his system of using mirrors to collect the heat of the sun would not have produced the high temperature necessary for porcelain fusion.

However, Tschirnhaus had been given an able assistant, the alchemist, Johann Friedrich Boettger (1682-1719), whose discoveries were to revolutionize ceramic production in Europe. Boettger is one of those 18th century characters whose life is an accurate reflection of the diversity of the times. His profession, alchemy, the attempt to transmute base metals into gold or silver, was considered a perfectly valid subject for research in 18th century Europe. Its origins can be traced back to Islamic or Chinese teaching, with the addition of classical

thought, particularly Aristotle's division of the world into four elements of Earth, Fire, Air and Water. In its broadest form, it was a branch of 'philosophy', as scientific research was called in the 18th century, in that it purported to examine the mystery of life itself, and the way in which things below the human level - in particular metals - could be raised or transmuted into higher states. This was of course particularly applicable to the ceramic arts, which rested on making something of beauty and value from 'ignoble' clays dug from the ground. Though its results were uncertain, its exponents were in possession of vast quantities of knowledge relating to metals and their properties, which could be useful in a more general attempt to exploit the resources of the natural world (14).

Boettger had been imprisoned and made to work for Frederick I of Prussia, but had escaped to Saxony in 1701. Here he was in turn confined by Augustus the Strong in the castle of the Albrechtsburg in the town of Meissen on the outskirts of Dresden, where he was set to work with Tschirnhaus on the discovery of the philosopher's stone, and other matters connected with minerals and ores (15). Although it is still unclear as to the scope of their operations, in 1707, Tschirnhaus and Boettger succeeded in producing a very hard red stoneware of great beauty, similar to Chinese red stoneware, which could be used for the production of fine ceramics. Its commercial possibilities were immediately perceived and in 1708 a factory was opened in Meissen with the

help of 'Dutch masters and potters' from Amsterdam. By 1711 there were thirteen workers under the direction of Peter Eggebrecht, working as compounders, modellers throwers, glaziers, kiln masters or general hands, much in the manner of the Dutch tin-glaze factories (16).

Boettger's stoneware was somewhat different from traditional stonewares made in Germany in that it was finer and denser, and even strong enough to be cut and polished on the wheel, like glass. It was thus capable of being moulded into a greater variety of uses than ordinary German stoneware, suitable for the taste of the rich; moreover, the factory had the backing of the Crown, and could call on its resources to make goods of the highest quality in the most fashionable styles. The most fashionable pieces were thus not tankards, but pieces that owed a debt to Eastern models, particularly Chinese white blanc-de-Chine porcelain, and silver itself. Many of the forms were based on Chinese wares, such as red stoneware teapots with applied prunus decoration that imitated Yi-Hsing stoneware, and high-necked sake bottles with spouts in the form of a fantastic animal copied almost exactly from Chinese models. These examples were left glazed or unglazed. A small number of models actually were actually cut and faceted on the wheel, presumably using employees of the former State mirror factory in Dresden, another of the enterprises that Augustus had set up to encourage trade and industry. Sometimes only the relief decoration was polished,



and sometimes the upper surface was cut away to reveal the ground below. Other forms of decoration consisted of incising decoration into the body, and the application of gilding. Applied decoration in the form of silver motifs or sprays of flowers are also found.

Some models based on metalwork prototypes were designed by the Court goldsmith Johann Jacob Irminger (died c.1726), who made models in copper in his studio in Dresden which he sent to Meissen (17). A specially magnificent design was a teapot in the form of a nautilus shell with moulded decoration in the form of trailing vine leaves and bunches of grapes (18). Some pieces were gilded and painted by the Court painter Martin Schnell, who appears in the list of staff and wages of 1712, in the style of lacquer (fig 2).

The stoneware that Boettger made also saw the beginnings of figure modelling at Meissen, which was to have such a distinguished history in the 18th century. Examples are rare, but show that already the newly-created royal factory could create figure modelling of the highest sculptural quality.

The earliest models are exact copies of Chinese models, such as the figure of Kouang-Jin; however, European models quickly followed, such as a bust of the Roman Emperor Vitellius or a head of Apollo after the Italian sculptor Gianlorenzo Bernini. Great

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2) Coffee pot and tea-pot. Brown stoneware, painted and gilded in the style of oriental lacquer. Height of coffee pot 19.8cm. Meissen, c.1715. The Smithsonian Institute, Washington.

use was made of artists and craftsmen at Court for this prestigious factory, such as the court sculptor Benjamin Thomae, who modelled a putto and a head of Proserpine after Bernini, or the modeller Georg Kittel, who in 1713 made the famous statue of Augustus the Strong. The most notable contribution was a set of six figures from the *Commedia dell'Arte*, the Italian comedy company famed for its figures of clowns and pantomine characters. A vigorous and grotesque figure of Polichinello is the precursor of a long line of such figures in German ceramic history (fig 3).

Boettger's stoneware was an immediate success and the secret of its manufacture jealously guarded. However, despite strict precautions and regulations on the movement of staff, some workmen managed to escape, attracted by bribes and offers of high pay from other countries. The compounder and kiln-master at the factory, Samuel Kempe, offered the secret of the red stoneware to the Prussian minister Friedrich von Goerne, who was able to establish a rival factory in Berlin (Plaue-am-Havel) in 1713, whose products were on sale at the Leipzig Trade Fair by 1715. Boettger stonewares were also imitated at the faience factory at Bayreuth, which made incised and dark glazed wares of a great delicacy and quality.

However, a much greater venture was by now in hand. Von

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3) Figure of Polichinello. Brown stoneware, painted in 'cold' colours. Height 16cm. Museum fuer Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt-am-Main.

Tschirnhaus and Boettger had continued their ceramic research and on the 15th January, 1708, they appear to have succeeded in making true hard-paste porcelain like the Chinese, although by October 1708 von Tschirnhaus was dead and the credit is now usually given to Boettger alone. The discovery was proclaimed to the world on March 28, 1709, and the creation of a royal porcelain factory was announced on the 23rd January, 1710, in a proclamation written in four languages, German, Latin, French and Dutch. In June the nascent factory was allotted premises in the castle of Albrechtsburg at Meissen, whose inhabitants greeted its arrival with much suspicion, on the grounds that it might damage existing trade. The manufacture was based on clays found at Paue in Saxony. Production was sufficiently advanced for pieces to be displayed at the Leipzig trade fair in August (19).

Since the factory was a royal possession, it was run as a department of government. The first Director was the royal chamberlain Michael Nehmitz, with Boettger as chief administrator. A staff list of November 11, 1711, lists thirty-three employees divided between Dresden and Meissen - Boettger's laboratory on the Jungfernbastei, the polishing works on the Weisseritz and the 'red' [stoneware] and white porcelain factory' at Meissen itself. However, continual disputes about administration and the financial basis of the factory led to a royal commission of 1711, in which Boettger succeeded in reinforcing his position, but was by this time broken in health.

He was granted his freedom in 1714, and sadly died on March 13, 1719 (20).

In general, Boettger's porcelain seems to have used the same forms that were available in the red stoneware and it is reasonable to assume that they were made concurrently; in the repertoire we find, for instance, almost exact copies of Chinese blanc-de-chine (pure white) figure of the Goddess Kouang-Jin, or the four-sided sake bottles. The great body of production was devoted to tea- and coffee-wares in the European taste, including a tea-pot copied from a shape in the French designer Jacques Stella's Livre des Vases of 1667, and delicate tea-bowls and saucers, some with applied mouldings or trailing vine leaves. More ambitious were the pieces decorated with pierced or cut-away decoration, and some large vases with mask handles that seem to follow designs by the Frenchman Raymond Leplat, which still exist in the archives (21). Other remarkable pieces include a drinking vessel in the form of a great key, which appears to have been used by Augustus the Strong on his stop-over at Meissen on his way to the Leipzig trade fair in 1714 (22).

The new wares were sold throughout the world by various means. A show room had been opened in the Albrechtsburg in 1711, and one was set up in Dresden itself in 1715 (23). Specimens were exhibited at the trade fairs at Leipzig, or the Peter and Paul Fair in Naumburg, and a travelling salesman, Johann Wilhelm

Stuertz, was appointed. He was sent to Karlsbad and Berlin in 1710 with a Parthie Porcelain Waare, and sold some in Hamburg; demand was so strong that at the end of the year he had made a profit of 6,150 talers (24).

Boettger's porcelain is pure white in appearance; in quality it is exceedingly thin, and of great delicacy and fragility, fully equal to the finest Chinese porcelain. It has something of the quality and feel of fine metalwork. Although much was left in the white, some was also decorated in enamel colours, in the manner of glass. Painters of good porcelain were taken on as early as 1711, though it took some years to develop a range of colours. The earliest known piece painted in enamel colours is a cup and saucer painted with the arms of Sophia, Electress of Hanover (died 1714) in the British Museum (25). It is not clear whether this was painted in the factory or by an outside decorator, since much of the applied decoration on early Meissen porcelain was done outside the factory by decorators with their own muffle kilns (Hausmaler).

These Hausmaler had existed before the founding of the Meissen factory; they were independent painters of earthenware, glass or Chinese porcelain, who added enamel decoration to existing wares, firing them in a separate, low-temperature 'muffle' kiln. Colours ranged from the traditional range of colours that could be fired with the glaze that we have seen in

Italian maiolica (orange, brown, blue, green) to include enamel colours, such as red, which are in effect powdered glass to which pigment has been added in the form of a metallic salt. A substance is also needed to act as a flux to lower the melting point in the muffle kiln, as well as an oily substance to act as a medium, which burned off the kiln. The most accomplished Hausmaler from the 17th century seem to have been Johann Schaper of Nuremberg (active 1665-70), who became a Master in the Guild of Glass-workers in 1668, and Abraham Helmhack (1654-1724) who is mentioned in the Guild of Glassmakers and Glasspainters of Nuremberg in 1668. Their subjects included hunting scenes, biblical scenes and fruit and flowers, which appear on German tin-glazed wares, especially large round tankards, of the late 17th century (26).

The Hausmaler who decorated Meissen porcelain seem to have been based mostly in the great metalworking towns of southern Germany. In the summer of 1715, large quantities of porcelain were sent to be decorated by the Dresden gilder and enameller Johann George Funcke, who seems to have specialized in gilding (27). The most famous Hausmaler is Ignaz Preissler (1676-), some of whose work was already described in the inventory of Augustus the Strong at Dresden in 1721 (28). He was active mainly in Breslau, then the capital of Silesia, a centre for metalworking and glassmaking, and specialized in working in schwarzlot (literally, 'blacklead', but in fact a transparent black enamel

painted onto the surface and scratched through with a needle before firing). Preissler seems to have used a wide variety of sources for his decoration, including prints after the Frenchman Jean Baptiste de Poilly (1669-1728) and the German Barthel Beham (1502-1540). It was in this period that the first engravings intended specifically for Hausmaler were made.

Another centre for Hausmalerei was the old metalworking town of Augsburg. Boettger sent a crate of undecorated porcelain to the Augsburg goldsmith Tobias Bauer to be mounted in gold or silver and painted with gold or coloured scenes in 1711. The most famous practitioners on Meissen porcelain were members of the Aufenwerth family, headed by Johann (1659-1728) and continued by his daughter Sabrina (1706-1782), and the Augsburg engraver Bartholomaeus Seuter (fig 4). Their speciality seems to have been Chinese figures in gold applied to the white body of the porcelain, in the fanciful style termed chinoiserie. The Chinese are portrayed in a charming but perhaps rather patronising manner at their pursuits; drinking tea, making offering to Gods, and smoking. Such scenes were copied or derived from prints of travel books to Asia, and adapted by decorative engravers such as Wolff. A large tankard with this style of decoration in the British Museum bears silver mounts for the goldsmiths Paul Solanier (died 1725), suggesting that this kind of work is found

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4) Tea- and coffee-set with gilding by Bartholomaeus Seuter. Hard-paste porcelain, with gilding. Porzellansammlung, Dresden

fairly early in the history of European porcelain (29).

It was at this period that an employee of the Meissen factory, Christoph Hunger, a gilder and decorator, betrayed his trust and took the secret of porcelain production to the Vienna. This led to the beginnings of porcelain production in Vienna. The Emperor Charles VI had issued a patent to new undertakings likely to encourage or extend the benefits of commerce in the country in 1717, and this had encouraged the courtier Claude Innocent du Paquier, 'Hofkriegsratagent' since 1705, to attract Hunger and, subsequently, J.G.Melhorn and Samuel Stoelzel from Meissen to Vienna, where the Emperor was apparently willing to order several thousand guilden worth of porcelain. On the 27th May, 1718, a patent was granted to Du Paquier, Christoph Hunger P.H. Zerder, the 'Hofkriegsrat' and Martin Becker, merchant, for the manufacture of porcelain.

Although Du Paquier's porcelain was made in the same period as much Meissen porcelain, it may be appropriate to discuss it first, since its forms and decoration tend to be rather backward-looking, although the whole is of good quality. The paste is generally heavy and was in 1735 compared to Delft pottery (30). The main range seems to have been tea- and coffee wares, with an especial line in heavily potted plates, tureens, pilgrim flasks, and even wine coolers for the dinner table. In 1726, for instance, the Wiener Diarium, advertised 'a fairly large stand or



table centre of solid silver...upon which are set six valuable covered Olio-cups of white porcelain finely decorated with gilding and artistic painting from the Imperial factory' (31), and, in 1729, they speak of 'two large wine-coolers of white porcelain with decorative painting in gold and black enamel, together with two long-necked flasks or bottles for Tokay wine' (32). In about 1735-44 the factory supplied a complete dinner service to the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, decorated with her coat-of-arms. Vienna has the distinction of producing the earliest known porcelain clockcase, which was recorded as a prize in the Wienier Diarium for 1725 (33).

Decoration on Vienna porcelain is comparatively restrained, consisting of motifs in black or coloured enamels silhouetted against the white porcelain. A tall enamelled beaker decorated with portraits of three Habsburg emperors attributed to Hunger exists in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (34). Much of the decoration also followed styles of design already in use by metalworkers or Hausmaler; for instance, from engravings made for the benefit of metalworkers, with the Laub-und Bandelwerk (leaf and strap work) so characteristic of the early 18th century. This kind of decoration showed kinked lines reminiscent of the engravings of Berain interleaved with foliate ornament, as in the engraving by the ornamental engraver Johann Baumgartner (fig 5).

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5) Glass cooler (monteith). Hard-paste porcelain, painted in monochrome with a border of Laub- und Bandelwerk and gilt. Width 50cm. Vienna, factory of Du Paquier, c.1735. Museo Civico, Turin

Figurative engraving were also used; the famous 'Jagd' (hunting) service, decorated with hunting scenes after Johann Elias Ridinger, published in 1722-38. Other painted decoration imitated Chinese or Japanese styles, much more closely than the variations subsequently introduced at Meissen, and were presumably copied directly from Japanese or Chinese laquer panels or porcelain (35).

Such items appear in the Dubsky room in the Museum of Decorative Arts in Vienna, which seems to have been the first specially manufactured room entirely decorated with porcelain. It is from the Palace of Prince Dubsky in the Moravian city of Bruck an der Leitha, and is today in the Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna. The walls and furniture are covered with 1,400 plaques of Vienna porcelain, and the sconces, chandeliers and even the fireplace is made of the same. On the shelves are vases and dishes. Most of the decoration is in the oriental style, but the fireplace in particular is painted with 'deutschen Blumen' - flowers in the European taste - which had appeared on a tankard with hallmarks of 1729 (such flowers had of course already appeared on German faience). These were rapidly copied by other European porcelain factories, and became a dominant style of decoration in European ceramics for the rest of the 18th century (36).

The factory was in serious financial difficulties by 1729 (37), and a lottery for unsold products took place in that year,

with others following in 1734 and 1735. The factory was sold to the Empress Maria Theresa in 1744, by which time many of its products must have seemed quite old-fashioned; another lottery to dispose of unwanted stock took place in 1746. It continued working, albeit in a less distinctive style, into the 19th century.

In 1720 Hunger moved on to Venice, where he met the brothers Francesco and Giuseppe Vezzi, both goldsmiths, who had amassed such wealth that they were able to spend 100,000 ducats on titles of nobility. Together with two other gentlemen, they set up a factory which was in production by 1723, when they had invested 30,000 ducats. The source of china-clay was Aue in Saxony. They seem to have made a variety of useful wares, including a large dinner service for an unknown bishop comprising tureens, cooler dishes and plates. Painting comprised Chinese style painting and figurative decoration, the British Museum owning a plate signed by one Ludovico Ortolani. Their best known productions are the hexagonal tea and coffee pots with handles, the panel decorated with a variety of painting (fig 6). However, the factory soon fell on hard times; it seems to have closed at the end of 1727, since the treacherous Hunger was by then back in Dresden and had revealed its source of china clay to the King, which was then stopped (38).

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6) Tea-pot. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Venice, factory of Francesco and Giuseppe Vezzi, c.1725

The impetus had by now passed back to the factory at Meissen, which was entering its great phase of the 'painter's period', when styles and decoration were dominated by a number of distinguished porcelain decorators. The factory was dominated by the desire to perfect painting in colours and blue-and-white. In Stoelzel's absence, the decorator Johann David Koehler had been promoted. He was obsessed with the development of colours, the secrets of which he kept to himself. A particular problem was the development of underglaze blue, for which a 1000 Taler prize had been offered in 1717. However, by May 1720 the factory was able to send some blue-decorated porcelain by Koehler to the King, and general production started soon thereafter; the inventory of 1722-25 of the Dutch Palace lists blue-and-white garnitures of vases in sets of seven, nine or even eleven, described as Doepffen, Routeillen und Bechervasen (39). The painting was soon applied to more commercial products, such as walking stick handles sold at the Leipzig Fair in 1721, tureens with snake handles (1722), butter-dishes (1723), and dishes and plates sold together (1728), presumably one of the first signs of a complete dinner service being offered. These were decorated in imitation of Chinese blue-and-white; in 1731 a standard decoration was offered, which is thought to refer to the pattern known today as the Zwiebelmuster ('onion pattern'), copied from a Chinese pattern of melons. By 1737 178,000 blue-and-white pieces out of a total production of 260,000 white pieces had been made

However, the great glory of Meissen decoration lay not in its blue-and-white wares, but in its coloured wares, which were developed concurrently in the 1720s. This development was due to one man, the decorator Johann Gregorius Hoeroldt (1696-1775), who is probably the well-trained painter that Samuel Stöckel brought with him from Vienna on his return to Meissen in 1720. It would thus appear that the factory at Vienna had a slight pre-eminence in developing the art of painting on porcelain in coloured enamels, and the disgruntled Hunger commented later that these godless and dishonourable men had taken his colours because no one at Meissen before this time knew how to use blue, green and red enamels on porcelain (41). Both Stöckel and Hoeroldt were careful to smash the kilns, destroy moulds and spoil prepared clay ready for firing at Vienna before leaving for Meissen, a measure of the strength of competition between the two factories.

The development of Hoeroldt's work at Meissen is not easy to trace. He first showed sample pieces to the Meissen authorities on May 14, 1720, and on May 22nd the factory sent Augustus II samples of the new painter's work, together with blue-and-white wares of David Köhler (42); the envy between the men was such that immediately after Köhler's death in 1723, Hoeroldt broke into a small wall-cupboard of his to study his book of recipes.

However, Hoeroldt's work was sufficiently developed for him to take on an apprentice, Johann Georg Heintze, in January 1721. The use of colours seems to have been established by 1723 (43), and the painters' workshop was reorganized to cope with the increased demand (44). In 1724 this workshop employed twelve men (45). But in 1725 the rate paid to the painters was no longer decided by the autocratic Hoeroldt, but paid by piecework by the factory commission (46). By 1731 there were forty painters working in the factory (47).

In the 1720s two styles of decoration became general, both attributable to Hoeroldt. The first style is a style of scenes of Chinese men and women at work and play, a version of the fanciful European Chinese style called chinoiserie. They seem to have been introduced in about 1722; figures were at first shown half-length, and framed in gold cartouches, or very rarely in underglaze blue (48). Their origin is difficult to determine, but they may be based on Dutch engravings by Petrus Schenk (1660-1718/19) and Martin Engelebrecht of about 1680, later copied at Augsburg. Certainly in September 1720 147 copper engravings arrived at the factory, and it is recorded that the Viennese painter took most of them. However, Hoeroldt did not slavishly copy these designs, but adapted them and created a style quite remarkable in ceramic history. A volume of his designs are preserved in the Schulz codex in Leipzig shows a wide of variety of slight comical tall figures, dressed in heavy robes with

exaggerated hats, engaged in a variety of pursuits at work and play (49). In 1724 Hoeroldt must have decorated a tankard painted in colours with a Chinese figure in the British Museum inscribed George Ernst Kiel [his future father-in-law] Meissen den 6 Juli 1724 (50). This shows the style of the early years of his painting - single or half-length figures set against a clear background; later wares have these figures set against coloured backgrounds. A particular development was to show the scene as if taking place on an island surrounded by the white beauty of the porcelain. A vase in Dresden (fig 7) is a rare signed work, dated 1726 on the base. It was also in this year that Hoeroldt produced a series of engravings of similar Chinese scenes (fig 8) (51).

The second of these styles was the depiction of shipping or harbour scenes, usually showing classical buildings surrounding an expanse of sea, copied from engravings by Johann-Leonard Baur (d.1640). Here the depiction could be exceeding atmospheric, with the sails of the ships billowing in a windy sky. They seem to have been introduced at Meissen about 1723-5 (52); however, similar scenes appear on the great gold coffee-service, made for Augustus the Strong by the Court goldsmith J.M. Dinglinger (with enamel decoration by his brother Georg) of 1697-1701 (53). Such

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7) Vase, signed on the base by J.G. Hoeroldt, 1726. Porzellansammlung, Dresden.

8) Engraving of Chinese scene by J.G. Hoeroldt, 1726

scenes are often attributed to Hoeroldt's pupils J.G.Heintze (born 1706) and C.F.Herold (1700-79). Their best known depiction occurs on the lavishly decorated Christie-Miller service of the 1740s (fig 9). The interior panels in the borders are painted en camieu or in rose, the colour developed in China from European models. Such scenes, both Chinese and European, were set off by gilding of the highest quality, often featuring drawn-out C scrolls and a four-petalled flower, of a type often attributed to the factory gilder Johann Georg Funke (active 1713-26).

As the factory developed its own range of styles, it became more reluctant to allow outside decorators to use its pieces and thus dilute the market. In 1722 the famous crossed swords mark, based on the coat-of-arms of Saxony, began to be painted in underglaze blue on the base of objects before glazing, to distinguish between Haumalerei and proper factory decorated ware. This mark has remained in use to this day, although other early marks include KPM (Koenigliche Porcellan Manufaktur) and KPF (Koenigliche Porcellain Fabrique) and MPM (Meissner Porzellan Manufaktur), that were in use from 1723 to 1725 (54). The mark AR entwined in underglaze blue is thought to have been used on items for the Crown's own use, and features on some magnificent display vases which are highly sought after today. It was consequently much copied in the 19th century.

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9) Plate from the Christie-Miller service, painted after an engraving by Johann Wilhelm Baur. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Diameter 29.5cm.



Also in the 1720s Meissen developed a important and long-standing feature of Western ceramic design. This is the use of a central panel or reserve framed by 'ground' colours which cover the rest of the body. Colours developed included yellow, pea green, celadon green, cobalt blue, red, purple and even black. These early colours are generally restrained and slightly pale in tone, and form a beautiful complement to the often colourful decoration that accompanies them (55). By the 1740s, however, they come to be associated with rich gilding, a precursor of the lavish style more generally associated with the mid 18th century style of the French factory of Sevres.

However, the most fashionable style of the early 18th century in porcelain was neither Chinese or European, but Japanese. Japanese porcelain had become the height of fashion in Holland in the late 17th century, when the 'Kakiemon' and 'Imari' styles dominated the market. The taste for items from Japan soon swept throughout Europe. The mood had been anticipated in the introduction to J.Stalker's Treatise of Japanning of 1688, which proclaimed the superiority of Japanese designs over Chinese or European : Let not the Europeans any longer Flatter themselves with the empty notions of having surpassed all the world beside in stately Palaces, Costly Temples, and sumptuous fabrics; Ancient and Modern Rome must now give place. The glory of one Country, Japan alone, has exceeded in beauty and magnificence all

the pride of the Vatican at this time, and the Pantheon  
heretofore...Japan can please you with a more noble prospect, not  
only whole Towns, but Cities too are adorned with as rich a  
covering, so bright and radiant are their buildings that when the  
sun casts forth his lustre upon their Golden roofs they enjoy a  
double day (56). As we have seen, Japanese porcelain was particularly sought after for the dessert service, or for salad plates in the first two courses of dinner, as it would not be corroded by a vinegar dressing.

Meissen responded to the Japanese taste in two ways. Firstly, it developed a wide range of Kakiemon and Imari decoration of its own, often copied from specimens in Augustus's collection. Two services made for the King in about 1728-30 were decorated with a "yellow lion" (in fact, a tiger with bamboos and a plum tree) and a pattern of birds and dragons coiled into rings, the so-called "red dragon" service (57). A particularly amusing type is the "Flying Fox" pattern, based on a Kakiemon design, whereby a tree-squirrel is transmuted into a red fox that leaps through trees. Sprays of flowers and foliage, flattened in the manner of Eastern designs, developed into a style of decoration called "indianische Blumen" (Eastern flowers). Much early Meissen porcelain was moulded or painted directly after Japanese porcelain, particularly angular or fluted forms imitating a chrysanthemum flower, and many items were copied or modelled after examples in Augustus's own collection, which

mostly still survives in Dresden, such as octagonal bowls, square sake bottles, and chrysanthemum-shaped dishes (58). A precise copy of the latter, with its Japanese original, survives in the British Museum (59). Some pieces seem to have been produced as deliberate fakes of Japanese porcelain: a large tureen and stand decorated in the Kakiemon style in an English private collection bears no factory marks and is possibly one of a number of items which were bought by the French dealer Lemaire in 1729-31 in order to pass them off as true Japanese porcelain in Paris (60). Lemaire himself was deported in 1731 after it was suspected that he was trying to discover the arcanum or secret of making porcelain (fig 10) (61).

Meissen also developed a figurative version of the Kakiemon style, in which Eastern figures make their way around exotic landscapes and forests, with the help of local artists. One of the earliest painters who seemed to have specialized in such scenes was Johann Ehrenfried Stadler, who had worked at Eggebrecht's factory in Dresden-Neustadt. Two signed pieces, a tureen and a lantern, survive in the Dresden collection and show his style distinguished by white faces with iron red outlines and figures holding umbrellas (62). The style was further developed by the great painter Abraham Von Loewenfinck, who was apprenticed to Hoeroldt in 1727 at the age of thirteen. Though relatively

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10) Tureen, cover and stand. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in the Kakiemon style in enamel colours. Height 24cm. Meissen, c.1730. Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire

few items can be definitively ascribed to him, he is credited with the fine pseudo-Eastern decoration on items such as the Jersey service, and the fine pair of tankards in the Royal Museum of Scotland. The decoration respects the Kakiemon tradition of leaving large areas of the porcelain undecorated, but the landscape is peopled with figures, and mountains and European-style landscapes appear in the background. Loewenfinck's time at Meissen was short and he left on October 6th, 1736, to begin a series of journeys round Europe that touched on ceramic factories wherever he went.

The most important manifestation of the Japanese taste was Augustus's purchase of the Dutch Palace in 1717, which was enlarged in 1729 and renamed the Japanese Palace in 1730. The idea was to create a kind of large pavilion filled with porcelain, some Chinese, some Japanese, some from Meissen itself, all of which pieces were listed separately in the inventories of 1721-7. The Eastern theme was paramount, and the King himself specified that the porcelain was to decorate the walls against a background of wall coverings, of Eastern splendour, great Indian figures painted onto silk or golden dragons embroidered on silk, or Indian gilded paper onto which various Chinese pagodas would be painted, clearly and neatly (63). The palace comprised thirty rooms, each with its own colour scheme in which the appropriate porcelain was displayed, such as 'dark blue and gold' or 'peach bloom with gold.' Much of this porcelain survives in the museums

in Dresden today, identified by its inventory number, although a certain proportion was sold and is now in other museums and private collections.

The decoration of the Japanese Palace led to one of the most important commissions in the history of Western ceramics: a gallery 270 feet long decorated with all sorts of native and foreign birds and animals of pure porcelain furnished in their natural sizes and colours (64). These were a large number of large realistically modelled animals, up to two or three feet in length, today mostly encountered in the white, since various firing cracks in these large pieces meant that they were unsuitable for enamelled decoration. The first animals were modelled by the sculptor Johann Gottlieb Kirchner (b.1706), who was employed from 1727, replaced by the ivory carver Johann Christoph von Luecke in 1728, but re-instated in 1730, only to be dismissed in 1733. Kirchner is thought to be the modeller of the first series of animals, which shows a high degree of fantasy and personality. Although their representations are seldom accurate, they show a high degree of stylisation and inventiveness. The Meissen lion with its mournful expression, may be a good example of his work.

Kirchner was succeeded in the commission by the greatest modeller in the history of Western ceramics, the sculptor Johann Joachim Kaendler (1706-1775). He had trained in Thomae's

workshop, and his great achievement was to blend the sculptural accuracy and sophistication of the monumental sculptor with a high degree of liveliness and characterization in his models, suitable to the lighter medium of porcelain. It is generally thought that his figures for the Japanese Palace have more naturalism in them than Kirchner's, and are based on close observation of the king's menagerie at Moritzburg (fig 11). The details of anatomy and fur and feathers are exceptionally fine. Not only was he responsible for a large number of the animal figures, but he went on to model porcelain figures of Apostles for the Chapel of the Palace. The resulting ensemble was one of the great wonders of the age for visitors to Dresden; the Englishman, Jonas Hanway, wrote that Here are a great number of porcelain figures of dogs, squirrels, monkeys, wolves, bears, leopards, &c., some of them as big as life; also elephants and rhinoceroses of the size of a large dog; a prodigious variety of birds, as cocks, hens, turkeys, peacocks, pheasants, hawks, eagles, besides parrots and other foreign birds, and a curious collection of different flowers. The Apostles, here three feet high, are in white porcelain. There is a representation of the Crucifixion, four or five feet high, with numerous other curious pieces; these last are intended for the Romish chapel, which is to be finished with these rare materials. A clock is preparing for the gallery in this palace, whose bells are to be also of

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11) Model of a pelican swallowing a fish, modelled by J.J.Kaendler. Hard-paste porcelain. Meissen, c.1732. Porzellansammlung, Dresden.

porcelain. I heard one of them proved, and they are sufficient to form any music, but the hammer must be of wood (65). The "clock" in Hanway's description is presumably organ and carved wooden case of 1736-37 which still survives in the Dresden collection (66).

A change of direction for the factory came in 1733 with the death of Augustus the Strong. His successor, Friedrich Augustus II succeeded as Augustus III, and took less interest in the factory than his predecessor, preferring to devote himself to the building up of the great collection of pictures which today forms that basis of the Gemaeldergalerie at Dresden. The factory was however retained and developed under the minister Count Heinrich von Bruehl, who retained this position until his death thirty years later, in 1763. Bruehl was in the enviable position of being able to requisition whatever porcelain he liked as a perquisite. Under him the factory tended to downplay the great individual commissions, such as the animals for the Japanese palace, and concentrate on goods with commercial possibilities, such as dinner services, although standards remained high. New trade links with Paris were forged, with much imitation of French fashions. A shop had been opened in Warsaw in 1731 and by 1733 the factory had agents in thirty-two German cities (67). In 1734 links with Paris were renewed when Lemaire's partner, Jean Charles Huet, was appointed agent, with the occasional use of one Bonnet in 1740 and 1746-7 (68).

This was a period of finely modelled wares for the dinner table, sold commercially throughout Europe. Meissen was the first European factory to produce a complete porcelain dinner service, which had appeared in the Meissen price lists in 1731, comprising tureens (but no soup plates), meat and dinner plates and salad plates in the Japanese manner (69). A German dinner service seems to have followed the French layout, with a central plat de menage, two pairs of round and oval tureens, presumably for different sorts of soups and stews (70), and numerous side plates, dish covers and dinner plates. A complete dinner service was made in 1733 for the Court (the Jagd or hunting service) had a yellow ground enclosing hunting scenes. In general, the enamelled decoration at this time was sparse, consisting mostly of coats-of-arms and tiny sprigs of 'Indianische Blumen'; a service made in 1735 for Count Bruhl's friend the Count von Hennicke was decorated with rich applied decoration of leaves and flowers described a 'japanische Belege' (71). The service made for Count Sulkowsky of 1735-7 had an evident debt to silver in the modelling, shown in double-curved profiles and gadrooning and strong volute-scrolled 'S' shaped feet, and handles with female heads and half-figures. Kaendler also modelled the centrepieces for the service for the Count von Sulkowski of 1736, although the tureens are copied from one made in Augsburg before 1730 by J. Biller (72). However, a whole dinner-service of Meissen porcelain still remained expensive took time to be considered the



height of fashion; as late as 1743, Frederick the Great of Prussia, who was an enthusiast for porcelain, used a new service made out of gold, and Meissen porcelain appeared only at the dessert (Konfekt) course (73).

Dessert services in porcelain continued to be considered as separate from dinner services and were decorated with new styles of moulded border decoration, based on relief patterns. These included imitation basketwork (Ordinar Dzier) in 1732, Neuozier in 1742 and, in 1744, a pattern of raised flowers created for the Berlin merchant Gotzkowsky (fig 12) (74). Some dessert wares were simple copies of natural shapes, such as vine-leaves and flowers, and in 1746 the familiar dessert dish of peony was modelled by J.G.Ehder, and remained in the sales catalogue of 1765 (75).

The greatest service of all was made for Count Bruehl himself in 1737-41. This was the great 'Swan' service, a triumph of modelling and firing, was clearly designed to show off the capability of the factory at its highest level. The whole service was conceived as a tribute to water, possibly inspired by the meaning of Bruehl's surname (meaning 'marshy-ground'). The published records of orders show that the first pieces to be order were for the Konfekt course (76). It finally comprised a central plat de menage (centrepiece), round and oval tureens,

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12) Borders of Meissen dessert wares, from a catalogue of the early 19th century

covered entree dishes, waermeglocken (dish covers), meat and soup plates, tea- and coffee pots, cups and saucers, and a host of other modelled wares for the dinner and dessert table, with splendid figures modelled by Kaendler. Count Bruehl's pastrycook is rumoured to have contributed to the modelling of this service; which is not improbable, as he would have had knowledge of modelling swans for table-decoration (77). The great tureens are modelled with handles in the form of nereids, river-gods and putti; even the lesser items of the service are modelled with nereids, dolphins and tritons supported the vessel. The vessels in the form of nereids holding shells are known to be the work of J.F. Eberlein, who had come to the factory as Kaendler's assistant in 1735; however, the general conception of the service must be due to Kaendler, and shows his astonishing fertility of imagination. Some may give preference to the relatively austere plates from the service; these show modelled decoration of two swans, derived from an engraving by Francis Barlow (c.1626-1702) after an engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677), which appeared in a compilation of designs for artists entitled Neu-vollstaendiges Reissbuch, published in Nuremberg in 1700 (fig 13, 14) (78).

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13) Engraving by Francis Barlow (c.1626-1702) after an engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677), from the Neu-vollstaendiges Reissbuch, Nuremberg, 1700.

14) Plate from the Swan service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Diameter 15 inches. Meissen, c.1738

Our best remaining dinner service of this period is the great service at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, which appears to part of the dinner- and dessert-service presented to the English Envoy Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams in 1746. It comprises a wide range of tureens, soup plates, dinner plates of different sizes, candelabra, butter dishes, and condiment sets, painted in the centre with figures of animals copied from engravings by J.E. Ridinger (79). An inventory of the time that it would brought to England records dessert wares in the shape of laurel leaves or sunflowers, as well as over one hundred figures of shepherds, shepherdesses, farm animals, game and hunters and other outdoor figures to adorn the dessert (80). The borders of this service are adorned not with Eastern flowers, but with sprays of rather stiffly drawn European cut-flowers taken from Weinmann's Phytanthoza-Iconographia of 1738-40 (81). By mid century this manner of painting stiffly like a woodcut (Holzschitttblumen) had succeeded to the rather more elegant, loosely painted sprays of flowers that we know today.

Kaendler's great forte seems to have been in the modelling of small porcelain figures for use as table decoration, which has led to this period being called the 'modellers' period. These had a distinguished history going back to medieval times when they were modelled, often by pastrycooks, out of sugar-paste. They seem to have reached an apogee in 17th century, when distinguished sculptors were involved in their modelling and

design, especially in Italy. Naturally none survive, but we do have depictions and engravings of them, such as those for a feast for the Earl of Castlemaine in 1687 or Queen Christina of Sweden in 1688 (82). Our best record seems to be the drawings that P. Sevin (1650-1710) made of a feast laid out for Queen Christina (converted to Catholicism in 1656) by Pope Clement IX. The table abounded in sugar sculptures, called trionfi; the meal consisted of four meat dishes; after they were finished, they were removed, the cloths taken off, and the trionfi taken out and brought back filled with fruit, sweetmeats, and confectionery arranged in pyramids 'alla francese' (83). In Germany figures seem to have been used mostly for the final Konfekt (dessert) course prepared by the pastrycook, and figures and architectural decoration of Meissen porcelain are listed in the Konditorei (confectionery) in the inventory of the King's chief minister, Count Bruehl, in 1763 (84). Some figures from the Royal Palace are actually marked K.H.C. ('Koenigliche Hof-Conditorei' or Court Pantry) in red (85). It is not always clear how such elaborate confections could be brought into the dining-room, but smaller decorations would have been brought in on mirrored trays (86). This arrangement would appear to be confirmed by one of the few surviving depictions which show an 18th century tablelayout with figures, the feast at the wedding of Joseph II and Isabella of Parma at Vienna in 1760 (fig 15) (87).

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15) Detail from 'The wedding of Joseph II and Isabella of Parma', 1760. Schoenbrunn, Vienna

Porcelain figures had already been made at Meissen, <sup>most</sup> notably the figures of chinamen by Georg Fritzsche (c.1725); but Kaendler developed the genre into the vast array of animated figures that we are familiar with today. They seem to date from about 1735 and the precise date of the modelling of many of them is known from the Taxe, the record of work that Kaendler kept for the years 1740-45 (88). The first figure, Harlequin Playing the Bagpipes, heralded a huge range of figures representing the commedia dell'arte figures, which would have been considered a suitable after-dinner entertainment (89). This was developed into a great series of figures representing virtually the whole of the Italian comedy, including figures of Harlequin (the clown), Mezzetino or Scapino (an intriguer), Pulcinella (another clown, but of less tractable disposition than Harlequin, and the origin of the English Punch), Pantalone (a comic old man of amorous tendencies), the Doctor (a pedant), the Captain (a braggard), Columbine (the maid), as well as the central loving couple, so essential to the plot (90); often two figures were modelled as a group, which respond to each other with animated expressions, as in the group of Harlequin and Columbine of 1741. Kaendler's intention is avowedly satirical, and the figures misbehave with a licence and frivolity that could only have been countenanced at the light-hearted dessert court (91). The ill-tempered Scowling Harlequin, and the Harlequin twisting a dog's tail as a rummel pot of about 1738, are the best

known of this type (fig 16). The colours chosen to decorate these figures are quite different from the elegant pinks and golds of Hoeroldt's palette and include bright purple, strident yellow - the colours of the confectioner - and even the decoration of Harlequin's costume sometimes consisted of painted playing cards, based on accurate depictions of the character's clothes. Kaendler similarly modelled figures of court jesters Joseph Froehlich (1737) and the Postmaster 'Baron' Schmiedel who would have been allowed this kind of behaviour. This latter had already been carved in ivory, driving a sleigh led by pigs, by the sculptor C.A.Luecke in a model which survives in Dresden to this day.

Kaendler also developed a wide range of types beyond the commedia dell'arte figures. He introduced a range of folk types, including Tyrolese dancers and figures of miners, so important to Augustus's economy. The figure of the tailor riding a goat of 1737-40 apparently refers to an old tradition that the weakest member of a farmer's family did not work on the land but became a tailor; the goat is clearly satirical of his bodily weakness and aristocratic aspirations. Kaendler also modelled figures of exotic subjects such as Chinamen and Turks. But his other great contribution to figure modelling were the figures relating directly to court life, and especially the rituals of love and seduction, the so-called 'crinoline' groups, whereby a

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16) Figures of The Scowling Harlequin and The Greeting Harlequin. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Average height 16cm. Meissen, c.1740

fashionably dressed lady partakes of tea, or entertains a gentleman visitor, attired in a huge crinolined dress (fig 17). This series was begun in about 1737, the best known of which is 'The Handkiss'. He was also capable of fine direct sculptor, best seen in the two heads of about 1753 of Prince Louis Charles and Princess Marie Zepherine de Bourbon, children of the Dauphin of France and his wife Maria Josepha of Saxony, daughter of Augustus III.

As the century progressed, desserts came to be artistically and intellectually ambitious, and copied the formal gardens of the period. Figures became increasingly sculptural in style and began to consciously copy garden sculpture rather than the gaudy coloured work of the pastrycook. Kaendler is recorded as modelling a series of figures of Apollo and the Graces for Frederick the Great of Prussia in 1743-4. In 1745 Kaendler, assisted by Eberlein, copied in porcelain a fountain with statues which had been erected in Bruehl's garden by the architect Zacharias Longuelune and the sculptor Lorenzo Mattielli. We are fortunate in having an eye-witness account of its use at dessert from the British ambassador to Poland, who saw it in 1748: I was once at a Dinner where we sat down at one table two hundred and six People ('twas Count Bruhl's). When the Dessert was set on, I thought it was the most wonderful thing I ever beheld. In the

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17) Group of The Seller of Heart-shaped Boxes. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Meissen, c.1738. Pauls-Ebenweiss Collection, Basle.

middle of the Table was the Fountain of the Piazza Navona at Rome [Hanbury-Williams is here confusing the two fountains], at least eight foot high, which ran all the while with Rose-water, and 'tis said that Piece alone cost six thousand Dollars (92). The ensemble survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and reproduces the Dresden fountain with considerable fidelity in white undecorated porcelain (fig 18) (93).

In the 1750s more allegorical subjects became popular, such as groups of Gods and Goddesses, the Four Seasons, and Five senses. These latter figures were often modelled by Kaendler's assistant, J.F. Eberlein. The introduction of scrolled bases is thought to be the responsibility of the court sculptor Meyer, brought in from Weimar in the 1750s. Such figures were sold around the world. The Englishman Horace Walpole, in The World for February 8th, 1753, wrote on the changes that had taken place in garden design, which were mirrored in the dessert course: Jellies, biscuits, sugar plumbs and creams have long since given way to harlequins, gondoliers, Turks, Chinese and shepherdesses of Saxon china. But these, unconnected, and only seeming to wander among groves of curled paper and silk flowers, were soon discovered to be too insipid and unmeaning. By degrees whole meadows of cattle, of the same brittle materials, spread themselves over the whole table; cottages rose in sugar, and

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18) Table-centrepiece in the form of a fountain. Hard-paste porcelain. Meissen, 1745. Victoria and Albert Museum, London



temples in barley-sugar; pigmy Neptunes in cars of cockle-shells triumphed over oceans of looking glass or seas of silver tissue, and at length the whole system of Ovid's metamorphosis succeeded to all the transformations which Chloe and other great professors had introduced into the science of hieroglyphic eating. Confectioners found their trade moulder away, while toymen and china-shops were the only fashionable purveyors of the last stage of polite entertainments. Women of the first quality came home from Chenevix's [a fashionable china-dealers] laden with dolls and babies, not for their children, but for their housekeeper. At last even these puerile puppet shows are sinking into disuse, and more manly ways of concluding our repasts are established. Gigantic figures succeed to pigmies, and of the present taste contrives, Rysbrack, and other neglected statuatories, who might have adorned Grecian salons, though not Grecian desserts, may come into vogue (94).

This period also saw the development of new types of painted decoration, mostly famously that of scenes copied from the French painter Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) and his followers. These comprised elegantly dressed figures disporting themselves in pastoral landscapes in what seems to be an eternal outdoors masquerade - fetes galantes as they were christened at the time. Watteau's complete output had been engraved in the Recueil Julienne at the behest of his patron and supporter Jean de Julienne in the years up to 1725-1735 (95), and a copy could

have been among the engravings bought from Paris via the dealer Le Leu in 1741 and again in 1746-7 (96). Scenes after Watteau are first listed on porcelain made in 1745 and sent to Augustus's daughter, Maria Amalia Christina, in Naples in 1747 (97). The figures are presented in green on islands in panels against a gold background, and, as is usual in aristocratic commissions, the owner's coat-of-arms feature prominently. 'Watteau scenes' were to remain a prominent type of decoration in the mid 18th century, being listed in the 1765 price list when they would have been quite out of fashion in France itself.

A more striking use of French influence lay in the production of the famous 'monkey band' of 1747, a complete orchestra of monkeys dressed as musicians. Behind them lay an ancient tradition of the depiction of monkeys as 'aping' human activity, a parallel for the way in which art imitates life. More immediately, there was a vogue for such decoration (singeries) in France in the 1740s, most famously in the painted room in the Chateau of Chantilly by Christophe Huet (1700-59). The Meissen band seems to have been based on drawings by Huet supplied to the Meissen factory by his namesake the Parisian dealer Jean-Charles Huet for sale in France; to this extent, they are a measure of how much French taste was coming to dominate Germany.

Parallel with this taste for novelty items was a taste for Galanterien, that is, small objects of porcelain that were partly

functional and partly decorative. They comprised a wide range of snuff boxes, scent bottles, bobbin cases, all executed with the most exquisite refinement in the most elegant of taste. Such items were largely intended for the gift market and were called 'toys' in Britain. Most interesting to modern audiences is the small slipper-shaped lady's chamberpot called a bordalou (fig 19), after a French preacher of exorbitantly long-sermons which left no time for relief. This was intended for day-time use, without the necessity of the lady having to take off her heavy garments, when underclothes were often non-existent or minimal!

Indeed, the tendency of taste at the Meissen factory in the 1740s and 1750s was to produce items to impress the French market, a tendency increased by the marriage of Augustus' daughter, Maria Josepha, to the French Dauphin in 1749. Needless to say, these wares were always the largest and most elaborate that the factory could produce; ironically, the more they strive to show off the factory's inventiveness, the more they merely reflect the dominance of French taste. They are little considered today, although they were amongst the most important and elaborate works of porcelain ever made at the time of their production. A peculiarity is the way in which they are encrusted with figures and three-dimensional flowers of the most elaborate kind. A set of five vases symbolizing the elements was made for

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19) Chamber pot (bordalou). Hard-paste porcelain, painted with enamel colours with a scene after Watteau and gilt. Meissen, c.1740

Louis XV in 1741-2, of flamboyant form with much applied decoration, recalling elaborate vases of the kind made by the Italian bronze-caster Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi (1656-1740); the central vase was smothered in porcelain flowers or quelderrosen, which were to become a feature of the more elaborate products of Meissen in the 1750s (fig 20). A set of seven vases symbolising the Planets was sent to the Empress Elizabeth of Russia in 1744; that of Phoebus Apollo is perhaps the most attractive, with applied branches of bay which are very reminiscent of the applied floral decoration that we find on Boettger porcelain. In 1747-8 Bruehl himself ordered a set of vases symbolizing the Four Elements, which are conceived in three dimensional terms with plastic decoration of flames, clouds, plants, rocks and even a lobster-pot. Most flamboyant of all would have been the mirror-frame and console table made in 1748-50 as a belated wedding-present for the wedding of Augustus's daughter, Maria Josepha, to the Dauphin of France in 1749. They were taken to Paris by Kaendler himself, accompanied by the factor Helbig, in 1750. These were heavily encrusted with applied flowers and their fragility meant that they did not survive the French Revolution, although the moulds survived in Dresden which have enabled reproductions to be made. The irony is that although these products were no doubt intended to impress the French court with the ability of the factory, the style they adopted was French in

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20) Vase from a set of The Elements, made for Louis XV in 1741-2. Hard-paste porcelain. Porzellansammlung, Dresden.

origin and conception. In trying to demonstrate Saxon power and prowess, they in fact were only demonstrating the all-embracing power of French fashion and taste in the mid 18th century. The taste of France now dominated the stage, and it is to developments in France that we must now turn.

1.H.Tait, Porcelain, London, 1972, p.16

2.perclus de ses membres par les ingredients qui entrent dans la composition de la porcelaine.Cte X.de Chavagnac and Mis de Grollier, Histoire des Manufactures Francaises de Porcelaine, Paris, 1906, p.4

3.ouvrages presque aussi parfaits que les porcelaines de la Chine et des Indes, Cte X.de Chavagnac, op.cit., p.10

4.The factory was seen and described by an Englishman, Dr.Martin Lister (1638?-1712),when he visited Paris with the British Ambassador William Bentinck in 1698:I saw the 'Potterie of St.Clou [sic]', with which I was marvellously well pleased, for I confess I could not distinguish betwixts the Pots made there, and the finest China Ware I ever saw. It will, I know, be easily granted me, that the Paintings may be better designed and finisht, (as indeed it was),because our Men are far better Masters in that Art, than the Chinese; but the Glazing came not in the least behind theirs, not for whiteness, nor the smoothness of running without bubbles [sic]; again, the inward Substance and Matter of the Pots was, to me, the very same,, hard and firm as Marble, and the self same grain, on this side vitrification. Farther the transparency of the Pots the very same....They sold these Pots at St.Clou at excessive Rates; and for their ordinary Chocolate Cups askt Crowns a-piece. They had arrived at the Burning on Gold in neat Chequer Works. He had sold some Furnitures of Tea Tables at 400 Livres a Sett...There was no Molding or Model of China Wares, which they had not imitated; and had added many Fancies of their own, which had their good effects, and appeared very beautiful. G.Wills, 'Dr.Martin Lister

- and Early French Porcelain', Connoisseur, CXLI, 1958, pp.74-76
- 5.C.Green, Excavations at John Dwight's Fulham Pottery 1971-9, London, 1993
- 6.S.Jenyns, Later Chinese Porcelain, London, 1971, pp.6-16
- 7.see U.Heise, Kaffee und Kaffee in Kulturgeschichte, Leipzig, 1987
- 8.In 1717 the third prize in a Viennese archery competition was a complete table or dessert service consisting of 21 pieces of Japanese porcelain of various types, namely, four large and five small bowls (cups?) and twelve similar plates. J.F.Hayward, Viennese Porcelain of the Dupaquier Period, London, 1952, p.48
- 9.'un service de Porcellaine du Japon pour le dessert'. S.Bursche, Tafelzier des Barock, Munich, 1974, p.19
- 10.T.Hutchison, Before Adam Smith: the emergence of political economy 1662-1776, Oxford, 1988, pp.90-93
- 11.Joachim Menzhausen et al, The Splendor of Saxony: Five Centuries of Art Collecting, Washington, New York, San Francisco, 1978-79
- 12.The Splendor of Dresden: Five Centuries of Art Collecting, Washington, 1978, nos.356 and 357
- 13.W.B.Honey, Dresden China, London, 1954, p.41
- 14.J.Read, Prelude to Chemistry: An Outline of Alchemy, its Literature and Relationships, London, 1939, pp.2-17
- 15.O.Walcha, Meissen Porcelain, London, 1981, pp.16-17
- 16.In charge of the factory was Christoph Ruehle, who was paid 24 talers a month, while his son-in-law, Gerhard van Malcem, earned sixteen as a Schilderer or decorator.Walcha, Meissen Porcelain, London, 1981, p.20
- 17.He visited the factory works on October 29, 1711, and was allowed to take back three tons of allerfeinsten rothen Massa (finest red clay) for modelling. Further orders came in 1712. By 1719 he was owed 1,261 talers by the factory. Walcha, op.cit., p.34
- 18.W. Goder et al, Meissen: La Decouverte de la Porcelaine Europeenne en Saxe: J.F.Bottger 1709-1736, Leipzig, 1982 (French edition Paris, 1984), fig.84
- 19.Walcha, op.cit., p.23

20. Walcha, op.cit., p.43
21. Bottger, op.cit., figs 200-201
22. H. Jedding, Meissener Porzellan des 18. Jahrhunderts, Munich, 1979, p.32
23. W.B. Honey, Dresden China, London, 1954, p.47
24. Walcha, op.cit., p.50
25. Tait, op. cit., plate 7
26. S. Ducret, German Porcelain and Faience, London, 1967, pp.371-2. See also Pazaurek, Deutsche Fayence- und Porzellan-Hausmaler, 1925
27. Walcha, op.cit., p.40
28. M. Cassidy-Geiger, 'Two Pieces of Porcelain Decorated by Ignaz Preissler in the J. Paul Getty Museum', The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal, 15, 1987 pp.35-53
29. Tait, op.cit., p.24
30. Hayward, op.cit., p.38
31. J.F. Hayward, op.cit., p.66
32. ibid, p.67
33. Hayward, op.cit., p.15
34. R. Berges, 'C.K. Hunger: Itinerant enameller extraordinary' Connoisseur, CLXIII, 1966, pp.202-205
35. J.F. Hayward, Viennese Porcelain of the Dupaquier Period, London, 1952, p.72
36. W. Baer and T. Walter Lack 'Pflanzen auf Porzellan', Charlottenburg, Berlin, 1979
37. A report in a Dutch newspaper said that the porcelain which was manufactured at Vienna was strong and of exceptional beauty, but that its price was so high that hardly anyone was willing to buy it, with the result that it was already expected that the supporters of this factory would be obliged to abandon it. Hayward, op.cit., p.64
38. A. Lane, Italian Porcelain, London, 1954, pp.8-



39.K.F.Arnold, Meissener Blaumalerei aus drei Jahrhunderten, Dresden and Hamburg, 1989-90

K.F. Arnold, Weltkunst, 59, 21, 1 Nov.1989, p.3303

41.Berges, op.cit., p.204

42.Specifications of the porcelain works which, in Poland, were most humbly presented to his Majesty on the occasion when the report of the 22nd of May was presented:

1 blue dish

1 ditto plate

2 ditto shaving basins

1 ditto small bowl and cup enameled with gold. The compounder David Koehler at Meissen invented the above pieces and had them painted there.

Three blue and plain bowls

1 ditto cup

2 ditto chocolate mugs

4 red enameled bowls

1 ditto cup

3 chocolate mugs

The artisan, who has returned from Vienna, made all of these, and invented the colours used thereupon. The painting was done by the painter Herold, who came here with him  
Walcha, op.cit., p.49 and p.443, note 29

43.The report of 1723 comments on the new colours smoothly embedded in the glazing [that] had been invented to suit the taste of the buyers. Walcha, op.cit., p.57

44.From the mid 1720s painters were no longer divided into 'blue' and 'colour' painters, but according to their subject matter- Indian flowers and figures, Japanese figures, foliage and flowers, as well a gold lace painters and the sword painter - the Meissen mark. Walcha, op.cit., p.65

45.I.Menzhausen, 'Hoeroldt und sein 'Seminarium', Meissen, 1720 bis 1730', Keramos, 120,88, pp.3-38

46.Walcha, op.cit.,p.71

47.For Herold see R.Wark, 'Meissner Chinoiserien der Heroldzeit', Keramik Freunde der Schweiz, 30/31, March, 1955, pp.

48.R.Wark, 'Meissner Chinoiserien der Heroldzeit', Keramik Freunde der Schweiz, 30/31, March, 1955, pp.29-31

49.R.Behrends, Das Meissener Musterbuch fuer Hoeroldt-Chinoiserien, Munich, 1978



- 50.H.Tait, Porcelain, London, 1972, p.15
- 51.one reproduced in R.Schmidt, Porcelain as an Art and a Mirror of Fashion, London, 1932, p.77
- 52.M.D.Gutter, 'Meissen Chinoiserie and Harbour Scenes', Antique Collector, May, 1988, pp.70-77
- 53.G.Reinheckel, Frachtvolle Service aus Meissner Porzellan, Leipzig, 1989, p.44
- 54.Walcha, op.cit., p.54
- 55.Walcha, op.cit., p.61
- 56.quoted in Hayward, op.cit., p.172
- 57.W.B.Honey, 1934, op.cit., p.75
- 58.F.Reichel, Early Japanese Porcelain, London, 1981
- 59.H.Tait, Porcelain, London, 1972, pl.10
- 60.The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting, Washington, 1985, no.391.
- 61.Walcha, op.cit., p.81
- 62.Walcha, op.cit., p.67
- 63.M.Chilton, 'Rooms of Porcelain', The International Ceramics Fair [Handbook], London, 1992, p.30
- 64.Chilton, op.cit., p.30
- 65.quoted in J.Marryat, A History of Pottery and Porcelain, London, 1857, p.250
- 66.Porzellansammlung im Zwinger, Dresden, 1980, fig 44
- 67.Honey, op.cit., p.90
- 68.Honey, op.cit., p.88
- 69.K.Berling, Das Meissner Porzellan und seine Geschichte, Leipzig, 1900, p.180
- 70.Louis XV received a pair of Meissen tureens as a New Year's present on 29th December, 1739: pot a oille avec leurs plats et leur couvercle et une terrine de meme, le tout de Saxe fort beaux et singuliers H.Havard, Dictionnaire de l'Ameublement et de la Decoration, Paris, 1889-90, vol.3, pp.1141-2

71. Honey, Dresden China, London, 1954, p.106
72. Reinheckel, op.cit., p.86
73. S. Bursche, op. cit. p.19
74. Honey, op.cit., p.105
75. cf. the example sold at Sotheby's, 22/3-2-1988, lot 358: 1 Confect Schaafe in Gestalt einer Sonnen-Rose von Thon bausirt
76. Reinheckel, op.cit. p.198, note 113
77. S. Bursche, op. cit., fig.93, for a print of a 'Schwanen-Pastet, mit natuerlichen kopff und flugel, oder gantz von Teig gemacht' from Conrad Hagger, Neues Saltzburgisches Kochbuch, Augsburg, 1719
78. A reversed copy of the engraving was published in Germany by Johann Leonhard Buggel in Nuremberg in 1700 in a collection of prints Neu-vollstaendiges Reissbuch... von einem dieser Preiss-wurdingen Kunst eyfrigst Ergeben G.H.M. Cassidy-Geiger, 'From Barlow to Buggel: A New Source for the Swan Service', Keramos, 119, January 1988, pp.64-68
79. T.H. Clarke, 'Das Northumberland-Service aus Meissner Porzellan', Keramos, 70, 1975 pp.1-75
80. Earl of Ilchester, 'A Notable Service of Meissen Porcelain, The Burlington Magazine, LV, 1929, pp.188-190. The list is as follows:
- A SERVICE OF CHINA FOR DINNER AT A TABLE OF 30 COVERS
- 1. Epargne
  - 2. Large Oval Terrines with their Dishes
  - 4. Large Round Terrines with their Dishes
  - 4. Small Oval Terrines with their Dishes
  - 4 Small Round terrines with their Dishes
  - 4 Large China Pans for Large Pyes with their Dishes
  - 8. Very Large Dishes
  - 12. Middle Sizd Dishes.
  - 16 Small Dishes
  - 6. Smallest Size Dishes
  - 6. Large Sallad Dishes
  - 6. Smaller Sallad Dishes
  - 20. Middle Sized Oval Dishes
  - 40. Soup Plates
  - 144. Plates
  - 4. Large Covers for Dishes
  - 4. of the Middle Sort
  - 8. of the Small Sort
  - 4. Oval Covers
  - 6. Ice Pails

8. Sauce Boats  
12. Butter Boxes  
8. Branch Candlesticks  
24. Single Candlesticks  
2. Double Salts  
12. Single Salts  
8. Pepper Boxes

A LIST OF THE DRESDEN WARE FOR A DESERT WHICH THE KING OF POLAND  
MADE A PRESENT OF TO Sr. C. H. W.

15. Very Large Dishes  
30. Smaller Dishes  
12. Pieces of sweet meats in the shape of Artichokes  
24. Small deep dishes for wet sweet meats.  
12. Laurel leaves with handles  
12. Sun Flowers  
12. Double Leaves in an Oval Shape  
6. Basons for Cream  
12. Baskets  
24. Tea Cups & Sawcers [sic]  
24. Coffee Cups & Sawcers  
12. Chocolate Cups & Sawcers  
2. Sugar Dishes  
4. Slop Basons  
2. Coffee Pots  
2. Milk Pots  
2. Tea Pots  
2. Tea Cannisters.  
4. Oval Terrines with their Dishes  
4. Round Terrines with their Dishes  
24. White Cups with handles for Ice Cream  
24. White Cups without handles  
10. Dozen Plates  
36. Knife Handles  
36. Fork Handles

FIGURES TO ADORN THE MIDDLE OF THE DESERT

6. Farmers' Houses  
4. Barns  
4. Stables  
1. Church  
2. Shepherds  
2. Shepherdesses.  
12. Sheep  
3. Double Sheep  
6. He Goats  
8. She Goats  
6. Cows  
2. Game keepers shooting  
2. Game keepers charging their Guns  
4. Amazons a Hunting  
6. Stags

- 6. Roebucks
- 4. Hounds
- 4. Larger Dogs
- 4. House Dogs
- 2. Huntsmen
- 2. Hewers of Wood
- 2. Sawyers
- 2. large Groupes.
- 4. large Figures upon Pedestals
- 8. large Figures without Pedestals
- 8. Pedestals
- 4. Small Figures of the Seasons.
- 12. different Small Figures
- 2. Groupes
- 4. Spaniards
- 6. Large Polanders.
- 6. Small Polanders.
- 4. Ladys in hoop Peticcoats.
- 2. Gentlemen playing on the Guittar.
- 2. Ladys with Flutes.
- 4. Dozen small Flowers Pots.
- 6. Larger Flowers Pots.

81. Washington, 1985, no. 389

82. J. Montagu, Roman Baroque Sculpture: the Industry of Art, London, 1989, pp. 192-197

83. P. Bjurström, Feast and Theatre in Queen Christina's Rome, Stockholm, 1966, p. 55

84. A. Bruning, 'Schauessen und Porzellanplastik', Kunst- und Kunsthandwerk, Vienna, 1, 1904, pp. 130-1

85. Honey, op. cit., p. 172

86. the sale catalogue of the Frenchman Roussel of 1769 lists Vingt & un Plateaux de cuivre argente, garnis de glaces, a l'usage des Desserts, avec plusieurs petites figures de porcelaine, & autres ornemens assortissans. R. Savill, 'The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Sevres Porcelain', London, 1988, p. 820

87. R. Schimdt, Porcelain as an Art and a Mirror of Fashion, London, 1932, p. 299

88. E. Pauls-Eisenbeiss, German Porcelain of the 18th century: the Pauls-Eisenbeiss Collection, London, 1972, p. 24

89. for the most recent history of the commedia dell'arte, see K. and L. Richards, The Commedia dell'Arte, Oxford, The Shakespeare Head Press, 1990

90.J.Watson and G.McKernie, A Cultural History of Theatre, New York and London, 1993, p.102

91.as it is difficult tracing specific instances of humour at the Court of Augustus the Strong, an example from the Court of Russia must suffice. In 1740 the Empress Anne forced the weak-willed Prince Galitzin, still only a court page although in his forties, to marry the hideous Avdotaya Ivanovna (nicknamed Bujenina or pork stew) in a special ceremony in the winter of 1739-40. The wedding procession consisted of members of the 'Barbarous' races of Lapps, Kirghiz, Tunguses, Tartars and Finns, seated in sleighs drawn by goats, pigs, cows, camel, dogs and reindeer. After a wedding feast consisting of crude national dishes - where the unfortunate pair were read an ode 'Greetings to the Bridal Pair of Fools' - the happy couple were led to a palace constructed completely of ice, where they consummated their marriage on a bed of ice. L.Kelly, St.Petersburg: a traveller's companion, London, 1981

92.R.J.Charleston, The James A.De Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Meissen and Oriental Porcelain, Fribourg, 1971, p.17

93.G.Reinheckel, Prachtvolle Service, Leipzig, 1989, p.47

94.quoted in T.Friedman, T.Clifford et al, The Man at Hyde Park Corner: Sculpture by John Cheere 1709-1787, Leeds, 1974, p.

95.see exhibition catalogue, Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984, no.A6

96.Honey, op.cit., p.97

97.not 1738, as is often stated. C.Boltz, 'Ein Beitrag zum gruenen Watteau-Service fuer Neapel', Keramos, 79, 1978, pp.5-24

## Chapter Seven: French Rococo: the Ascendancy of Sevres

Though Germany had dominated the world in the development and decoration of porcelain, France remained the acknowledged ruler of taste, and supplier of luxury goods to the whole of Europe. The tradition which started under Louis XIV continued under his successor the Regent, Philippe, Duc d'Orleans, who ruled during the minority of Louis' great-grandson, Louis XV. Under the Regent the centre of fashion again shifted back to Paris, where he kept court at the Palais Royal, his house opposite the Louvre. His aim in government was domestic retrenchment and the avoidance of wars, and, in his personal life, luxury and debauchment.

The style of his rule, the Regence, had none of the bombastic leanings of that of Louis XIV and was in general a much more lighter and more fanciful style. It was a development of the grotesque style of Louis's XIV chief designer, Jean Berain, in which the gods and goddesses of the ancient world are treated as decorative figures. In painting proper the most famous painter and designer of this period is Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), whose elegant pastorals and fetes galantes, engraved in the recueil

Julienne of 1727-35, had already been used on Meissen porcelain (1). The emphasis was on small-scale luxury rather than grandeur, with smaller rooms dominating the domestic interior, but decorated with greater refinement of taste. The decorative interior style was developed by the Regent's chief architect Gilles-Marie Oppenord (1672-1742) in his interiors for the Palais Royal. The straight and ponderous lines of the Classical style begin to break down and become curved; light-hearted motifs, such as children or fanciful figures appear, and Gods or Goddesses are no longer depicted as solemn statues but feature as vase supports or as decorative motifs (2). In general, a lighter, more 'feminine' style became popular (3), to provide a setting for the smaller parties and less grandiose entertainments, often held by women rather than men. In this respect, tea and coffee drinking and smaller dinner parties could play a part; the print by L.Jacob after Watteau's follower Nicolas Lancret, showing a woman at breakfast and dinner with friends, gives a flavour of the age (fig 1).

This new taste led to a market for knick-knacks and small scale objects that was catered for by the marchand-merciers of

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1) L.Jacob, engraving after Nicolas Lancret (1690-1743): Le Matin

18th century Paris. They comprised a separate trade guild which specialized in luxury goods and expensive objects: porcelain, furniture, fans, snuff-boxes, and small decorative objects of all sorts. Their function was to tempt and titillate jaded appetites and create a market for unnecessary and pointless items; the critic Diderot in the great Encyclopedie called them "makers of nothing and dealers in everything" (4). We have already encountered a number of them selling goods to Louis XIV, or as dealers in Meissen porcelain in Paris. The most famous was the dealer Lazare Duvaux, whose account books for the years 1748-58 survive, listing many noble and aristocratic customers, including Louis XV's mistress, Madame de Pompadour (5). She was a client over many years and is recorded as buying everything from a "trictrac" board of ebony and ivory, with green and white pieces, to "two Japanese monkeys with nodding heads" along with various pieces of lacquer (6).

Some of the demand for porcelain was supplied by French factories. There were a number of porcelain factories in early 18th century France, which made soft-paste porcelain, similar in paste to Medici porcelain, rather than the true hard-paste porcelain of China, Japan and Meissen. In addition to the existing factory at Saint Cloud, which was under the patronage of



the Duc d'Orleans, a factory was founded at Chantilly in 1725, under the patronage of the Louis-Henri Bourbon, Prince de Conde, who continued to subsidize it until his death in 1740 (7). This made wares in the Japanese Kakiemon style, which was highly fashionable in early 18th century France, appearing in sales catalogues with the description 'first rate enamelled Japanese porcelain' (premier qualitie colore de Japon) to contrast with the coarser Imari type decoration. It is thought that the factory was inspired by Kakiemon porcelain in the Duke's own collection, which was directly copied at the factory. As the quality of the paste was not good, the early wares were covered in an opaque tin-glaze to hide deficiencies in the paste. It tended to make smaller wares, for tea or coffee, and galanterie, such as snuff-boxes and walking stick handles, though there also exist a small number of tureens and wine-coolers. A small range of figures was also made; most remarkable are the magots or grotesque figures of Chinese Gods, based on Chinese models, sometimes supporting a flower pot, or mounted in ormolu. A pair of figures of flowers sellers are also known, the female being copied from a figure moulded by Kaendler at Meissen. Another soft-paste factory was set up at Mennecy in 1748 (formerly in the Rue de Charonne, Paris) under the patronage of the Duc de Villeroy (8). This made a similar range of objects, but the

decoration tended to consist of bunches of flowers in the tradition of European flowers at Meissen, and the range of products tended to be confined to tea-wares.

Much of the porcelain sold by the marchand-merciers was not sold plain, but mounted in extravagant gilt-bronze (ormolu) mounts of the finest quality; this reached a height in the Paris in the 1740s and 50s when the flamboyant mounts came to smother the actual object. Some of the mounts can be dated to 1740-45 by the mark of the crowned C that appears on them. The preferred objects for mounting were Chinese vases with a celadon (pale greenish) glaze; however, Meissen and other porcelain and objects could also be used, often incorporated into more fanciful items, such as clocks. Duvaux's favourite craftsman for the mounting of porcelain seems to have been the metalworker Jean-Claude Duplessis (died 1774) from Turin, who had come to Paris in 1740, and brought with him Italian skills in modelling three-dimensional objects (9). Many of these wares were sold to Madame de Pompadour, who had an especial liking for flamboyant objects of the highest quality.

Most of these gilt-bronze mounts are in the new rococo style, which became dominant in France and Europe in the mid

century. The term 'rococo' is late 18th century term of the abuse for the style, conflated from the Italian barocco, or Baroque style of movement that was practiced by the sculptor Gianlorenzo Bernini and his followers in 17th century Rome, and the term 'rocaille', which was the contemporary word for the types of rocky ornament found in grottoes which were so popular at this time (fig 2). Its three major characteristics were the use of 'C' and 'S' shaped curves in the design; the use of asymmetry, in that the left hand side of the design not corresponding to the right; and the use of naturalistic decoration of animals, fruit, fish, and game, often mixed together without any sense of their relevant proportions. In the 18th century, the term for rococo in painting was 'genre pittoresque' a term for the picturesque style, which shows the rough texture and movement of the surface that is characteristic of much 18th century art. It was propagated by means of ornamental engravings by such designers as Nicolas Pineau (1684-1754) and Jacques La Joue (1686-1761), and, above all, in the work of the great Turinese goldsmith Juste-Aurele Meissonnier (1695-1750), in whose work that we first encounter the rococo

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2) Francois Boucher (1703-1770), Rocaille. Engraving.

style in its fully-developed form (fig 3). This design for a surtout de table is one of a series of designs that were published together in 1734; the first true rococo design is a design for a candlestick therein published in 1728 (10).

We have already seen that the word 'rococo' has its origins in a derogatory word for 'rocaille', the rocky-like substance that decorated the grotto. One of the most important aspects of grotto decoration was the use of shells, which were admired for their spiral shapes and controlled irregularity. The 18th century saw a tremendous vogue for shells, comparable to the Dutch speculation in tulip bulbs in the 17th century, with prices for rare specimens reaching exorbitant sums in Paris (11). They were collected with other natural curiosities and rarities. Other features of the rococo style were the creatures of the grotto, such as dragons, fish, lobsters and crayfish.

The print of 'rocaille' is by one of the leading contributors to the rococo style, the French court painter Francois Boucher (1703-1770). No other painter has had so considerable and pervasive an influence on the decorative arts,

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3) Juste-Aurele Meissonnier (1695-1750), Design for a Table Centrepiece ('Surtout de table') for the Duke of Kingston. 1735. Engraving.

blending as he does the fine and decorative arts into one glorious whole. He had spent his youth making engravings after the work of Antoine Watteau, and was familiar with the light-weight decorative style that Watteau had introduced into French painting. Boucher's work owes its genesis to Watteau's dreamy world of the 'fete galante', a world in which people disport themselves outside in masquerades, fancy dress and other forms of the elegant art of pleasure. However, Boucher's world is much more dynamic and physical, the world of the 'pastoral', in which shepherds and shepherdesses disport themselves in the process of flirtation and the preliminaries of love-making. To add a certain innocence to these proceedings the participants are frequently depicted as young children, directly related to the chubby 'putti' of Italian Baroque sculpture. This tradition of pastoral themes can be traced back to classical antiquity, to the works of Virgil; they make their appearance in the decorative arts in the 17th century, when Louis XIV's bed-hangings were embroidered with shepherd and shepherdesses (1696). Boucher was a particular favourite of the Louis XV's mistress, Madame de Pompadour, and became Court Painter in 1760. It was the works of Boucher, as translated through the medium of prints by skilful engravers such as Gilles Demarteau and Le Prince, that made these themes

characteristic in the decorative arts (fig 4) (12).

Though Boucher's influence is pervasive throughout the rococo period, his work is associated most closely with the products of one porcelain factory, that of Vincennes, which later moved to Sevres, just outside Paris. This factory was to make some of the most beautiful porcelain made in Europe in the 18th century; the paste is a beautiful milky-white soft-paste, and the forms and decoration were due to the finest designers and decorators that France could produce. It was the envy of other nations and provided a lead in the provision of new forms and styles of decoration throughout the rest of the 18th century. Though its products have lost something of the kudos that they had in the 18th century, mainly through the appreciation of the work of the individual craftsman-potter in the 20th century, many of the products of the factory must still be considered among the high-points of European ceramic art.

The original factory was set up in the old royal castle of Vincennes, east of Paris, in about 1740, with the help of two brothers, Robert and Gilles Dubois, who had previously worked at

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4) Jean Baptiste Le Prince (1734-81) after Francois Boucher (1703-70), La Chasse. Engraving

the Chantilly factory. The guiding lights, however, seem to have been two government officials, the brothers Philibert Orry de Vignory and Jean-Henri-Louis Orry de Fulvy, who saw the factory through its early years and set up a joint-stock company in 1745, to make porcelain in the manner of Saxony painted and gilded with figure subjects (13). This suggests that the factory was intending to make wares in imitation of Meissen. The secrets of the establishment were jealously guarded in the manner of all early porcelain factories, and employees were not allowed to leave without written permission. Sales rose from virtually nothing in 1745 to 31,738 livres in 1748; however, this was not enough to make a profit and the King started to take a personal interest in the factory in 1751. The factory was reconstituted in 1752 with the King as the principal shareholder, others being friends of the King's mistress, Madame de Pompadour, who maintained close links with the factory throughout her life, even to the extent of storing her wine in its cellars. Probably at her suggestion, the factory moved closer to the Court at Versailles to Sevres in 1756 (the factory will be called generally 'Sevres'), and in 1759, after further losses, became the personal property of the King himself, in the manner of the great porcelain factories being set up in Germany (14).

One of the remarkable features of the factory is its relatively intact factory records, which often enable us to identify individual items and trace their original purchaser. Furthermore, since Sevres was a royal factory, it adopted as factory mark the two interlaced 'L's of the Louis XV painted in underglaze blue, together with a series of date letters which run from 1753 to 1792. There were also separate marks for painters and gilders (the factory had been given a monopoly of the use of gilding on porcelain to enable it to maintain a supremacy in France). These marks and records enable us to trace many single examples from the 18th century, and reconstruct their early manufacture and ownership.

In its early days the factory seems to have made a specialty of producing porcelain flowers, which would have been scented in imitation of real flowers. These were often mounted on ormolu stalks and sold in porcelain vases of European or Eastern manufacture. The earliest records show that the dealer Lazare Duvaux was selling such items in 1747 and 1748 (15). The earliest documented surviving piece of porcelain from the factory is the large bouquet of porcelain flowers in Dresden set on an ormolu base which was sent by the German Princess Marie-Josephe, wife of the Dauphin, as a present to her father Augustus III of Saxony



in the spring of 1749 (fig 5) (a similar piece with 480 flowers had been presented to the Queen, Marie Leczinska, in 1748). Though it is a great tour de force, the quality of the accompanying white figures is not such as to worry the owner of the Meissen factory. They show two figures of 'Music' and 'Astrology', which were part of a number of figures made in the beautiful unpainted soft-porcelain of the early years of the factory. Similar figures were made at Mennecy. Other figures made at Vincennes include river Gods and Goddesses, sleeping women and remarkable clock-case intended to symbolize Zephyrus and Flora (16). Some of these may have been modelled by the sculptor Louis Fournier, who worked at Vincennes from 1747 to 49; he took his skills to Chantilly from 1752 to 1756, and then founded a short-lived soft-paste factory at Copenhagen in Denmark (1759-66), which made a variety of objects reminiscent of porcelain then in production in France (17).

Despite the terms of the 1745 petition to set up the factory to produce coloured figures in the manner of Meissen, Vincennes/Sevres showed less interest in the kind of coloured figures that were made at other factories to act as table-

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5) Vase and flowers of porcelain of Vincennes porcelain presented by Princess Marie-Josephe of Saxony to her father-in-law Augustus III in 1749

decoration during the dessert. Instead, they developed a line in unglazed 'biscuit' porcelain figures which were first made in 1751 (18). The first models were done after drawings by Francois Boucher himself, who provided thirteen drawings of children and '3 groupes du meme', only one of which, 'Le Petit Jardinier', survives in the factory's archives today. The designs were translated into three-dimensions by the sculptural team at the factory in 1753-55, Blondeau, La Rue, Fernex and Suzanne. Some were even modelled by the sculptor Etienne Falconet (1716-91), who worked at the factory from 1757 to 1766. They well captured the chubby-faced innocence of Boucher's designs, as well as advertising the sculptural possibilities of biscuit porcelain. The number of models after Boucher rose eventually to over seventy; a number were bought by L'Office du Roi, the King's pantry, in December, 1767, and again in December, 1769, presumably for use as decoration for the dessert table (19). Their fragility was judged such that prints after some were engraved and advertised in L'Avant-Coureur in 1761 and 1763, in order to record their appearance (fig 6, 7) (20).

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6/7 Unglazed (biscuit) figure of 'The Little Confectioner' modelled by Etienne-Maurice Falconet after Francois Boucher, 1757, together with engraving by Falconet junior

The range of shapes of early utilitarian wares is fairly unadventurous, being copies or adaptations of existing forms, especially those of Meissen (21), although the quality of painting is very high. They include a quatrefoil cup and saucer, and a tobacco jar painted in the Meissen manner with Watteau subjects (22). Many of the early products of the factory bear decoration in the Kakiemon style, or European flowers in the Meissen tradition. One of the most important of the early pieces is a bottle-cooler in the British Museum, painted with a scene of 'Perseus freeing Andromeda' from a painting by Francois Lemoyne now in the Wallace Collection, which was engraved in 1728. The reverse bears decoration based on a print by Francois Boucher published in 1735.

However, models of a more individual character came with the employment of the bronze-caster Jean-Claude Duplessis, who came to work for the factory in 1752, who was to remain in charge of modelling until his death in 1774. He is credited with a large number of forms for the factory in its early days. At first they are rather heavy and cumbersome; for instance, a rather heavy bottle cooler with leaf moulding at the side (23), but later he devised a rather lighter and more successful range of shapes,

which were to remain standard for a great many years. These were sometimes attributed to the influence of the artistic adviser Hendrick van Hulst, who in a letter of the 21 September 1751, wrote that 'as far as porcelain, above all, is concerned the most bizarre and fantastical designs will often triumph over the most elegant and well thought-out. If one eschews the heavy and the trivial, and offers what is light, fine, novel and varied, success is assured (24). Duplessis created a tradition which was respected even when taste had changed; in 1781, during the highpoint of the neo-classical movement, the factory director Bachelier was to write of Duplessis: "it is he who through his passion for precision has trained throwers and repairers who are to be esteemed on account of the exactness of their work. He might be criticized for baroque shapes, overloaded with detail; but, being Meissonnier's pupil, he had his faults and those of Oppenord and Pineau, who forty years ago gave us the taste for contrast and tortuous shapes" (25).

The first models of individual character appear to be cup and saucers moulded with in the form of butterfly wings with handles in the same manner. They are thought to date from 1750-53. A jardiniere of rococo form was also introduced at this time. A wide range of items for domestic use were made,

including ecuelles (covered bowls for individual portions of soups and stews), and a cup in a socketed saucers (gobelet et soucoupe "enfonce"), which were apparently first made for Madame de Pompadour during the periods of illness during her later life (26).

Many of the early products of the factory seem to have been tea- and coffee wares, which was a important market for porcelain in the 18th century. At Sevres they were often sold in the form of small services for one or two people with a tray, called a dejeuner, or sometimes a cabaret (from the tray on which it was served) (27). Such sets were in production at Sevres from 1753 onwards. The items ranged from cup and saucers and sugar bowls in the form christened Herbert (possibly after a famous marchand-mercier of that name), with a milk-jug and sometimes a teapot. This often appear unduly small for the set, but it would appear that it contains a concentrated brew of tea to which hot water was added separately to dilute it, which would avoid cracking the body (28). Coffee pots seem to be unknown at Sevres; perhaps the soft-paste body would not easily take the heat of boiling water. An idea of the quality of the factory's production in its early

days can be gauged from the teaset in fig 8. The tray is a plateau herbert, a sugar pot (pot a sucre herbert), and the round tea cup a gobelet litron. The ground colour is the rare colour, and the painting of the small scenes inside (the reserves) is in overglaze blue with scenes after Francois Boucher, most notably the panel on the tray, which is copied from an engraving of La Chasse engraved by Le Prince.

The factory was especially distinguished by the quality of its painted decoration. The work was overseen by the artist Jean-Jacques Bachelier (1724-1806) who was at first employed to make sketches of flowers and birds for the painters to copy, as well as providing models. In 1751 he was appointed directeur artistique and in 1753 opened a school for trainee painters. He was responsible for the purchase of prints for the nascent factory; the stocklist of 1752 lists 1105 prints and drawings, including putti after Boucher, landscapes, battle scenes and marine subjects, and even three boxes of dead insects (29). Early painting was comparatively restrained, and often featured landscapes or flowers or birds painted in a European style in central panels (reserves), or putti or pastorals scenes after

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8) Dejeuner Herbert of five pieces. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Sevres, 1752-53. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Francois Boucher. The latter were a specialty of the painter Vieillard (30).

Possibly Sevres' greatest contribution to European ceramic design was the development of rich ground colours under the direction of the chemist Hellot, often enriched by lavish gilding. The most famous are underglaze dark blue (bleu lapis), developed in 1751, followed by overglaze turquoise blue (bleu celeste), first called bleu ancien in imitation of the turquoise glazes found on Chinese porcelain (1755-8), green (1756) and pink (roze) (1757). Sometimes these colours were used in combination, such as pink and green or blue and green (31). Gilding was lavishly applied, from the 1750s in the cailloute pattern, resembling small stones, or vermicule, resembling worm-casts. Patterns were also devised in which the ground colour was patterned to produce a marbled (marbre) ground; it should be emphasized that these ground colours were expensive and greatly added to the cost of porcelain.

The greatest achievement of Duplessis is probably the great series of flower vases and pot-pourri designs of the 1750s, which show a consistent development into richer and more

extravagant forms (fig 9). They are perhaps not the taste of the twentieth century, but until well into the 19th century they were the most prized objects a porcelain collector could aspire to. The pot-pourri was a vase with a pierced lid into which dried scented flower-petals were put, which would have perfumed the air in the rather unhealthy atmosphere of Paris and Versailles. Also fashionable were flower pots and bulb pots, in which an individual bulb, such as a hyacinth, could be grown. These were made at Vincennes from 1756 (32). A remarkable pair exists in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with different ground colours on each side; it is not clear if these are trial pieces, designed to test the ground colours, or show pieces which would be turned for a new ground colour each day.

Duplessis's precise contribution to the modelling of wares in the factory is not always recorded, but can be gauged from stylistic similarities with pieces of ormolu attributed to him. They range from the urn-shaped pot pourry [sic] pompadour of 1752, pierced with openings for the scent to pass through at the top of the body, the vase a oreilles (1755), with curved handles at the top resembling ears; the fan-shaped flower vase, the vase

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9) Vase Duplessis a enfants. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours with a bleu celeste ground and gilt. Height 24cm. Sevres, 1753. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.



a l'hollandoise (1754), with a pierced base for watering the plants in the container above; pot poury Gondole (1756), with an extravagant pierced lid on a curved base resembling a gondola; the remarkable vase 'a tete d'elephant', with two elephants' heads at the top with the trunks curving round to support candle-arms (bobeches), based on Japanese bird-cage vases copied at Meissen; the cuvette Mahon (1756), vase Boileau (1758), pot poury girandole (1759), and the pot-pourri fontaine (1760), in the form of a fountain with water tumbling down and splashing back up the sides of the fountain. The greatest of all was perhaps the pot pourri a vaisseau or (en navire) (often called a vase vaisseau a mats) of 1757. This was an extravagant creation in which the pot-pourri was modelled in the form of a ship with sails, the scent of the pot pourri coming up through the holes in the rigging. Fewer than fifteen were made and were apparently sold mostly to the Royal family or members of the King's immediate circle.

Often these vases were decorated and combined in the form of garnitures of three or five in the manner of sets of vases from Delft or Meissen or elsewhere. The most famous are the two garnitures made for Madame de Pompadour, now divided between several institutions, and recently identified through their

peculiarities of decoration. The first comprises a pot pourri a vaisseau (fig 10), which formed a garniture with two pot poury girandole (missing) and two pots pourri fontaine (Getty Museum) (fig 11). They are identifiable on account of their chinoiserie style painting attributed to the painter Dodin, which shows they go together, but above all on account of their use of three ground colours - pink, blue and green - which shows they must be identifiable with some examples sold from the factory, with two wall lights, on May 30, 1760, and later listed in the chimney piece of Madame de Pompadour's bedroom at her hotel in Paris on her death in 1763. Another garniture, comprising a clock, two pots pourris girandole and two pots pourris a feuillages, was sold to Madame de Pompadour on the 25th June, 1762. The clock is now in the Louvre, the two flanking vases in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and the two candlestick vases have recently turned up in the private collection in Paris (fig 12) (33).

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10) Pot-pourri vase in the form of a ship (vaisseau a mat), with a central panel of Chinese figures framed by ground colours in pink, green and blue. Sevres, about 1760. Louvre, Paris.

11) Reconstruction of a garniture made for Madame de Pompadour, featuring a pot pourri vaisseau and accompanying vases and candlesticks

12) Reconstruction of a garniture made for Madame de Pompadour, featuring a clock and accompanying vases

An interesting and unexpected development of the late 1750s and 1760s was the filling of the reserves with tightly painted scenes of harbours or soldiers, in the manner of Meissen, or even peasant scenes after such Netherlandish artists such as David Teniers. Such decoration contrasts strangely with the rococo form of some of the products, but seems to have been considered very fashionable taste; there was a great rage for the work of Teniers and other Dutch paintings of the 17th century, in mid 18th century Paris, and in September 1769 the newspaper the Mercure de France carried an advertisement from one Niquet for Teniers engravings for use for painters and decorators (34). A blue and green vaisseau a mat of 1758 decorated with a central panel of two rustics in the Royal Collection is probably identical to 1 pot porv Vaisseau saffre et Verd Teniere sold to Madame de Pompadour for 960 livres in December, 1759, along with two companion pots pourri fontaine in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuth (35).

Sevres also became the standard supplier of dinner-services to the rich throughout Europe; though other factories of course made their own designs, the models began to be copied from Sevres shapes, which in turn reflected the design of contemporary

silver. Here Sevres seems to have started the trend in the use of porcelain instead of silver at fashionable dinner tables, for as late as 1751, Gilliers, Chef d'Office, Master Confectioner to the King of Poland, in his influential Le Cannameliste Francais had mentioned that porcelain was used at table only for covered dishes, salad dishes, fruit dishes and plates (36), as it would appear that the innovations in the production of dinner services made at Meissen had had only limited influence, and most Frenchman still used plate when possible (37). The general aim at Sevres was to encourage the rich to consider porcelain as a fashionable alternative to using gold and silver. This tendency was reinforced by the King's habit of presenting a dinner service of Sevres porcelain as a diplomatic gift, to advertise the products of the factory and the supremacy of French design; recipients included the Empress Maria Theresa (1758), the Duchess of Bedford, wife of the British Ambassador (1763), which service still survives at the family's ancestral home of Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, and the Scandinavian King Christian VII of Denmark (1768) and King Gustav III of Sweden (1771) (38).

To understand the meaning and composition of these dinner services, we must go back to the period of the Regence (Regency), the period of looser manners which followed the death of Louis

XIV during the Regency of the Duc d'Orleans for his great grandson Louis XV. The Regence was a period where the heaviness of the great and lavish feasts of the court of Louis XIV gave way to smaller, more intimate, dinners for fewer people. The Duc de Saint-Simon, who was often present at dinners given by the Regent, wrote of 'the exquisite fare, prepared in a place specially set up for it, on the ground floor, where all the utensils were of silver; they (the diners), led by the Regent, often turning their hand to the work with the cooks' (39). The meal was still divided into two courses followed by a dessert, with the wines being served from the buffet, and chilled in wine-coolers; a remarkable illustration by Oudry to Lafontaine's fable of the town and the country mice shows the mice invading the dinner table after the guests have departed, with the surtout-de-table still in place and the buffet still displaying plate and empty wine bottles lying exhausted (fig 13). Now, however, greater refinement was shown in the choice of foods, which was complemented by silver and porcelain of the highest quality and invention.

We can learn something of the refinements of the Regence

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13) J.B.Oudry. Illustration to Lafontaine, Fables, Paris, 1755-59

from Vincent La Chappelle's The Modern Cook (London, 1733, The Hague, 1742). He illustrates the arrangement of a table with fifteen or sixteen dishes (fig 14). He supplies recipes for only the first courses of the meal, since the third, the dessert, was the responsibility of the office, the section of the kitchen which was responsible for the preparation of pastries and cold foods. The meal opens with a pair of soups in the tureens, flanking a quarter of veal; these were 'removed' (i.e. replaced) by a fish, a turbot and a salmon. There were four side-dishes or entrees of poultry and hors d'oeuvres of such delicacies as mutton chops with chicory, glazed eels with an Italian sauce, or a dish of chicken breasts. The second course repeated this pattern, but included a ham in the centre and cakes to replace the turbot and salmon. The new hors d'oeuvres included sweetbreads, artichokes, duck tongues and eggs with a meat sauce (40). It will be apparent that it was at this time that the French gained their reputation as cooks of the finest and most ingenious sort, and the fashion for having a French cook seems to have started in the early 18th century and continued into the present day; La Chapelle himself was cook to the Francophile Earl of Chesterfield.

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14) Setting for a dinner of fifteen or sixteen dishes, engraving from Vincent La Chapelle, Le Cuisinier moderne (The Hague, 1742)

The early dinner wares of Vincennes tended to follow Meissen shapes and styles, as with the tea wares. However, a range of beautiful shapes were soon created by the factory. The credit for these early shapes is given to Duplessis, who presumably supplied new shapes for a service ordered by Louis XV in 1751, which was delivered between 1753 and 1755. The borders of this service were decorated with blue celeste and the centres painted with bunches of flowers (41). However, it is the shapes that were especially important, as they were to remain standard in Sevres dinner services right into the 1790s (42).

Chief amongst the items for a French diner was a set of four tureens and stands to be arranged symmetrically around the centrepiece. Those made by Sevres exhibited close parallels with contemporary silver design, copying its curved legs and naturalistic decoration. They would have been equipped with a metal liner to contain the soup or stew while it was hot, in order to prevent it cracking or crazing the soft-paste porcelain (43). They came in two kinds, one tall and round for the olio, the other low and oval for terrine (fig 15), following the

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15) Tureen from service made for Gustav III. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Sevres, c.1771. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

fashion of metalwork, as Meissonnier's engravings make clear (44); both tended to be decorated with finials in the form of animals or vegetables, reflecting their contents. A remarkable late 18th century French drawing in the Leeds pottery pattern books in the Victoria and Albert Museum shows a drawing of an olio tureen, comprising two halves, and allowing us to distinguish the differences between silver and porcelain design; the left-hand side shows handles and feet in the "goldsmith's pattern", the right-hand rather more compact with less breakable feet in the "china pattern" (fig 16). The French cook Massialot gives different recipes for terrine and olios; he mentions specifically that terrine was an "entree" (first course dish), and describes it as a mixture of meats, both animal and fowl - partridge, rabbits, woodcock, pigeons, quails, lamb fillets, beef, well-seasoned and cooked together. "Olio" he describes as a mixture of similar ingredients, but more in the form of a soup, with vegetables.

Other objects made by Sevres for the dinner table included separate plates for the side dishes of the first two courses, plat d'entree and plat d'entremets, whose designs again

16) Drawing from the Leeds pottery pattern books showing an olio pot in both silver and china shapes. Victoria and Albert Museum, London



reflected Duplessis' training as a goldsmith (45), and a wide variety of bottle coolers in different sizes, and wine-glass coolers. This desire to chill things seems to have been part of the pattern of conspicuous consumption of the 18th century. In the absence of refrigerators, ice was stored in the winter in ice-houses in a shady spot by the side of a pond or lake. These were huts erected over a deep pit by the water's edge, where ice was packed in winter between layers of straw, to keep cool into the summer. Coolers in the same shape were made in different sizes for bottle, half-bottles, liqueur bottles, and individual wine-glasses (fig 17) (46). Wine-glasses could also be cooled rather more economically together in a serrated edge wine-glass cooler, in which the bowls of the glasses were laid together face down in a bed of ice (fig 18).

The other great development in dinner-services was the development of specialized shapes for the dessert service. This process had been begun at Meissen, where leaves and other naturalistic shapes were copied for dessert foods of fruits and

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17) Bottle cooler. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

18) J.B. Moreau (Moreau le Jeune), Le Souper Fin, engraving from Le Monument de Costume (Paris, 1783), showing a wine-glass cooler (verriere) on the side-table.

jams. These were often served in baskets, which were sometimes called desserts themselves, as is explained in the Encyclopedie of 1765 (47). The dessert preserved its out-of-doors character, with elaborate layouts based on garden design, and an illustration in Gilliers' Le Cannameliste francais (1768) shows what appears to be baskets of fresh fruit arranged in elaborate parterres on the French model (48).

These new requirements led to a new range of ceramic items of which Sevres was the main innovator and were copied throughout the world. This comprised a variety of differently shaped dishes and comports, which were made in sets of four to be laid out symmetrically on the table. Separate services for dessert became increasingly popular in the later 18th century, and eventually reached a codified system of styles and shapes in British factories in the later 18th century which were based on the Sevres shapes (49). Most enduring was the shell-shaped dish, designated 'compotiers coquille forme nouvelle' in 1752 (50), which was copied in England by Derby and other factories. More unusual was the ice-pail, a deep-lidded container for ice-creams and sorbets. Ice-creams (glaces) seem to have been considered a novelty in 1757; they were made in tin boxes filled with fruit juices, chocolate or cream, left to freeze in urns containing ice

and salt. They were drunk semi-liquid in small tasses a glaces, which were often served on a tray (51). A 'seau a glaces' (ice pail) appears in the factory records for 1759 (52). The shape is comparatively restrained, with almost upright handles and straight sides; the ice cream or sorbet was kept cool between two layers of ice in the lid and the base, as a drawing in the Leeds Pottery Pattern books reveals (fig 19).

The result of all these innovations was that Sevres porcelain became the dominant luxury porcelain used in Europe at the dinner table in the 18th century. As such, it was internationally recognized as a mark of wealth, good breeding, and luxury, and considered the height of refinement for anyone who wanted to impress a guest. It added considerably to the international prestige of French civilisation and culture. Sevres porcelain is even mentioned in one of the amorous encounters of Casanova, dating from the 1750s: The service was made of Sevres porcelain. Eight made [specially prepared] dishes composed the supper; they were set on silver boxes filled with hot water which kept the food always hot. It was a choice and delicious supper. I exclaimed the cook must be French, and she said that I was right.

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19) Drawing of an ice-pail, annotated to show its use. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

We drank only Burgundy, and we emptied a bottle of "oeil de perdrix" champagne and another of some sparkling wine for gaiety. It was she who dressed the salad; her appetite was equal to mine. She rang only to have the dessert brought, together with all the ingredients for making punch. In everything she did I could not but admire her knowledge, her skill and her grace (53).

Although Sevres porcelain gained an international reputation for France in the 18th century, the majority of Frenchmen continued to eat off pottery, be it tin-glazed (faience) or lead-glazed. Contemporary advertisements in papers stress the faience was as good as Meissen porcelain and cost a good deal less, although it might share the dinner table with objects in more prestigious materials (54); when the Swiss miniaturist Rouquet commented on the relatively small amount of silver in use in England, he noted that it was never "mixed with this ignoble material, known under the name of faience", implying that this was the practice on the Continent (55).

Since pottery had to take the place of, or mix with, silver on the dinner-table, as with porcelain the shapes tended to follow silver forms. A splendid centrepiece from the Pont-Au-Choux factory in Paris, founded in 1743 by Claude-Humbert Gerin,

with its flamboyant curves and rococo base, is essentially a pottery version of the metalwork styles propagated by Meissonnier and his followers (fig 20). The factory also made a wide variety of good quality unpainted moulded dishes, covered tureens and other articles with carefully modelled naturalistic decoration. The body was a fine white pottery similar to that of imports from Staffordshire in England, hence its title Manufacture royale des terres de France a l'imitation de celles d'Angleterre. Such pottery was very popular in France where it was called in France faience fine, and tariffs had to be imposed on English imports in 1741 and 1749 (56).

However, the vast majority of good quality pottery made in 18th century France was tin-glazed (faience). Its popularity was aided by the development of petit feu enamel colours, that is, a new range of colours mixed with powdered glass, which could be fired at a lower temperature in a muffle kiln, in the same way as on porcelain. The new colours consisted of vermillion red, crimson, pink and leaf gilding, which allowed these factories to rival - in appearance at least - the porcelain creations of China, Japan or Meissen in pottery.

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20) Table centrepiece in the rococo style of a tureen on a stand. Lead-glazed earthenware. Paris, Pont-aux-Choux factory, c.1750. Height of tureen 30.5 cm. The Art Institute, Chicago.

The main factory for the development of faience painted in petit feu colours was that of Paul-Antoine Hannong at Strasbourg in eastern France in the period 1747-9. The factory had been founded by his father, Charles-Francois, in about 1709, with a sister branch at Hagenau, and Paul-Antoine was director from 1739 to 1760. Owing to a peculiar system of customs duties, wares made in Alsace, Lorraine and the 'Three Bishoprics' of Metz, Toul and Verdun, paid less customs duties if they were sent to Germany than to central France. Consequently a great export trade developed with Germany, Switzerland and the Baltic Countries, where they were imitated. Many of the workers at the Strasbourg factory came from Germany, most importantly the various members of the Loewenfinck family who arrived in 1748, followed by John Jacob Ringler from Vienna in 1753. It may be conjectured that these porcelain specialists and enamellers were an important contributing factor to the development of enamelling with petit feu colours.

The main form of decoration was sprays of naturalistic cut flowers, similar to those at Meissen or Mennecy. In addition Hannong also developed a range of ground colours, comprising blue, yellow, greens, and a very rich brick red, as well as

developing painting in camieu (monochrome purple). Gilding was prohibited by the ban on factories other than Vincennes, although it is recorded in 1744 on pieces offered to Louis XV. Tureens were made in the shape of animals and animals' heads, as well as a range of figures in the manner of Meissen, and a spectacular clock case with elaborate rococo mouldings (fig 21). The factory was later run by Paul's son Joseph, who in 1771 issued a price-list was published of the Prix Marchand des Fayances de la Manufacture de JOSEPH HANNONG, A Strasbourg, 1771. This lists assiettes, plats rond and plats ovales, facon d'argent in different sizes and priced according to their size and the quality of decoration (57). However, Joseph also set up a porcelain factory, whose huge running costs led to the closure of the parent pottery factory in 1779.

There were three further factories on the eastern border in Lorraine, which had the benefit of princely patronage. The factory at Luneville, the home of the exiled Polish King, Stanislaw Leszczynski (1677-1766), father of the Queen, Marie Leszczynska, was founded in 1749 by Jacques Chambrette. The factory is best remembered for the work of the modeller Paul-

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21) Clock case. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in enamel colours. Strasbourg, factory of Paul Hannong, c.1750. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Louis Cyffle, who worked also for the sister factories at Saint Clement (where Cyffle was briefly in partnership with Chambrette in 1763) and Cyffle's own factory in Luneville, founded in 1766. His principal production was a large number of figures of Gods and Goddesses, shepherds and shepherdesses and other ordinary folk at work or play, depicted with the slightly sentimental characterization that is reminiscent of the work of the painter Greuze. They were made both in a fine glazed white pipe clay and an unglazed hard-paste biscuit porcelain reminiscent of the work of Sevres, called terre de Lorraine in order to avoid infringing the monopoly of the royal factory. The moulds eventually passed to the factory at Niderviller, set up in about 1754 by Baron de Beyerle and his wife, who is supposed to have taken an active part in the running of the factory, and staffed with workers such as Pierre-Michel Anstett from the Strasburg factory. In 1770 Beyerle, failing to make porcelain, sold the factory to the Comte de Custine, who did succeed, and the same figure models are found both in pottery and porcelain. Cyffle in the meanwhile finished his career in Flanders, where his factory at Hastiere was destroyed during the Revolutionary Wars.

A more distinctly French style of faience was made in the south, at Marseilles, where the Veuve Perrin took over her



husband's pottery factory on his death in 1748 and ran it till her own in 1793. This factory made some of the most magnificent pieces of rococo faience of 18th century France, comprising great tureens and pot-pourri vases decorated in the most extravagant taste, with much moulded and painted decoration. The factory is perhaps best known for its large bouillabaisse (fish stew) tureens, often delicately painted with fish in petit feu colours (fig 22). Other forms of decoration included flowers, figures in landscapes and chinoiserie in the manner of the decorative engraver Jean Pillement (1728-1808). Such decoration was imitated at the Marseilles factory of Joseph Robert, who was responsible for plates with finely painted decorative landscapes in the centre. The factory also made good quality porcelain in the twenty years following 1773.

In 1761 the Veuve Perrin acquired a partner, Honore Savy, who in 1764 set up his own factory which pioneered certain forms of decoration such as green enamel washed over black underdrawing. Savy was so successful that he maintained his own ship for exporting faience to the Levant or the French Atlantic Islands. The factories of Savy and Robert allowed painters to

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22) Tureen. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in enamel colours. Marseilles, factory of the Veuve Perrin, c.1760. Musee Contini, Marseilles

attend classes at the local academy, and the painter Leroy has left us some chalk drawings of flowers from nature. Savy's apprentice, Antoine Bonnefoy, set up a rival porcelain and faience factory in 1770, again known for the high standard of landscape painting. Ambitious pieces were also made at La Rochelle, where the factory of Piaud and Crespin created some extreme rococo models, including some wonderfully elaborate pot-pourri vases with applied ornament and flowers (58). These are dated to 1777 and 1779, long after such items would have gone out of fashion in porcelain.

The faience factory at Sceaux, being only five miles from Paris, was closest to trends of taste in the capital. This factory, dating from 1735, was under the patronage of the Duchesses du Maine; it was refused permission to make porcelain in 1749, on account of the monopoly held by Vincennes, but created some of the most delicate faience made in 18th century France. Its main period of development came in 1750 when Jacques Chapelle was put in charge, who became owner in 1759 (59). Since it was only four miles from Sevres it imitated Sevres shapes, including the ewer and basin, the large tureens modelled by Duplessis, as well as the fan-shaped vase hollandaise, all with a considerable degree of sophistication which belies the nature

of its body. It was also able to poach skilled painters from that factory, and copy Sevres decoration with great exactitude. A 'feathered' border, copied from factories in Eastern France, is coloured blue as in Sevres porcelain. After a series of changes of ownership, it was bought out by the Duc de Penthievre in 1775, and went on to produce porcelain (60). Similarly elegant wares were made at Meillonas, near Bourg-en-Bresse, where the Swiss painter Protias Pridoux was active from 1764, and produced flower painting of exceptional quality.

French faience had a long and distinguished history, although in many ways its history is indistinguishable from that of German and Northern faience. Both were dependent on designs and innovations taking place in the world of German porcelain, and it is to German porcelain that we must return.

1.E.Dacier and A.Vauflart, Jean de Julienne et les Graveurs de Watteau au XVIII siecle, Paris, 1929

2.see F.Kimball, The Creation of the Rococo, Philadelphia, 1943 (reprinted 1964)

3.c.f.Sir Christopher Wren's comment after a visit to Versailles in 1665: The Palace, or if you please, the Cabinet of Versailles call'd me twice to view it; the Mixture of Brick, Stone, blue Tile and Gold makes it look like a rich Livery; Not an Inch within but is crowded with little Curiosities of Ornaments; the Women, as they make here the Language and Fashions, and meddle with Politicks and Philosophy, so they sway also in Architecture; Works of Filgrand, and little Knacks are in great Vogue; but Building ought to have the Attribute of eternal, and therefore

the only Things incapable of New Fashions. The masculine Furniture of the Palais Mazarin pleas'd me much better where is a great and noble Collection of antique Statues and Bustos quoted in E.H.Gombrich, The Sense of Order, London, 1979, p.23

4.faiseurs de rien et marchands de tout. F.J.B. Watson, 'The Paris marchand-merciers and French 18th century taste', Antiques, LXXXVIII, 3, September, 1965, pp.347-351

5.ed.L.Courajod, Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux, Marchand-Bijoutier, 1748-1758, Paris, 1873

6.deux singes de Japon remuant la tete. Watson, op.cit., pp.15,48,50

7.Cte X.de Chavagnac and Mis de Grollier, Histoire des Manufactures Francaises de Porcelaine, Paris, 1906, p.61

8.Chavagnac, op.cit., p.96

9.F.J.B. Watson, in C.Dauterman, The Wrightsman Collection: Porcelain, New York, 1970, p.389

10.M.Snodin (ed),Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984, no.A12

11.P.Dance, A History of Shell-Collecting, Leiden, 1986

12.see P.Jean-Ricard, L'Œuvre Grave de Francois Boucher, Paris, 1978

13. facon Saxe peinte et doree a figure humaine. S.Eriksen and G.de Bellaigue, Sevres Porcelain, London, 1987, p.30

14.S.Eriksen and G.de Bellaigue, op.cit. p.36

15.R.Savill, The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Sevres Porcelain, London, 1988, p.24

16.G.De Bellaigue, op.cit., pp.190-206

17.B.L.Grandjean, Louis Antoine Fournier, Copenhagen, 1969

18. The factory's sales records shows that between two and twenty-one children after Boucher were delivered with prestigious services ranging from the Empress's Maria Theresa in 1758; through to the Duke of Bedford's in 1763, Madame du Barry's in

1769 and the Prince de Rohan in 1771. In 1767 and again in 1769 such sculptures were bought from the factory Pour L'Office du Roi, the official body concerned with preparing the dessert. C.C.Dauterman, 'Sevres Figure Painting in the Anna Thompson Dodge Collection', The Burlington Magazine, 118, 1976, p.754. As late as 1792, the Prince of Wales (later George IV) had four Sevres dessert services and about forty biscuit figures in the 'Confectionary' at his London palace at Carlton House (G.de Bellaigue, Sevres: Porcelain from the Royal Collection, London, 1979, p.7

19.C.C.Dauterman, 'Sevres Figure Painting in the Anna Thompson Dodge Collection', The Burlington Magazine, CXVIII, November, 1976, p.754

20.'Les morceaux executes a la manufacture royale de porcelaine de Sevres sont la plupart dignes de subsister plus longtemps que ne le permet la fragilite de cette matiere. On vient donc d'en former une suite de plances qui feront survivre ces pieces a elles-memes; elles sont toutes la composition de M. Boucher', R. Savill, 'Francois Boucher and the Porcelains of Vincennes and Sevres', Apollo, 115, 1982, pp.162-170

21. For instance, a sucrier d'apres le Saxe avec plateau repere in production by 1752, as well as a saussiere forme de Saxe and even a pot de chambre forme de Saxe. Savill, 1988, p.558

22.The cup is marked with the crossed swords in overglaze blue and a fleur-de-lys and the initials OFL in gold. They are thought to have been made personally for Orry de Fulvy. A.d'Albis and T.M.Clarke, 'Vincennes Porcelain for Orry de Fulvy', Apollo, CXXIX, 1989, pp.379-384

23.G.de Bellaigue and S. Eriksen, op.cit., p.236

24.S.Eriksen and G.de Bellaigue, op.cit., p.82

25.S.Eriksen and G.de Bellaigue, op.cit., p.82

26.Savill, op.cit., p.675

27.Savill, 1988, p.492

28.Savill, 1988, pp.490-1

- 29.G.de Bellaigue, 'Sevres Artists and their Sources', The Burlington Magazine, 1980, 122, pp.667-78
- 30.A-M Belfort, 'L'Oeuvre de Vielliard d'apres Boucher', Cahiers de la Ceramique du Verre et des Arts du Feu, 58, 1976, pp.6-35
- 31.G. de Bellaigue, Sevres Porcelain, London, 1987, pp.49-53
- 32.Savill, 1988, p.25
- 33.1 pendule petit verd [432 1]; 2 pots pouris a feuillages verds chinois [864 1]; and [ 2 pots pouris] bobeches [verds chinois] [672 1]. They are listed in the inventory of the Chateau de Menars taken after her death in 1764. P.Ennes, 'Essai de reconstitution d'une garniture de madame de Pompadour', The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, 42/43, 1984/1985, pp.70-82
34. G.de Bellaigue, 1980, op.cit., p.752
- 35.The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting, Washington, 1985, no.397
- 36.S.Macdonald, Porcelain from Europe, Manchester, 1986, p.8
- 37.c.f. Rouquet's surprise on seeing the lack of plate in use in England in L'Etat des Arts en Angleterre, Paris, 1755, p.134.37. But for the grandest occasions of the rich, items of gold and silver were still used, as in the service sent to the Court of Denmark in the 18th century; surviving table plans have allowed fairly precise reconstructions of the settings, using the items themselves. La table d'un roi: l'orfevrerie du XVIIIe siecle a la Cour de Danemark, Paris, Musee des Arts Decoratifs, 1987
- 38.In 1763 the service given by the King to the Duchess of Bedford, wife of the English ambassador, comprised '1 pot a oglio et platteau, 2 terrines et platteau, 72 assiettes, 4 sallieres a 3 parties, 4 sallieres doubles, 8 sallieres simples, 4 moutardiers et platteaux, 2 beurriers, 14 pots a jus, 2 platteaux, 2 saussieres, 2 platteaux, 2 saladiers 1re grandeur, 2 saladiers 2re grandeur, 16 compotiers, 2 sucriers de M. le Premier, 16 tasses a glaces, 4 platteaux Bouret, 4 soucoupes a pieds doubles, 2 platteaux a 3 pots a confitures, 2 seaux a bouteilles, 2 seaux a demi bouteilles, 2 seaux crenneles, 2 seaux ovales a liqueurs, 4 seaux du Roy a liqueurs, 1 jatte a ponche et mortier'. The total cost 18,374 livres. Les Grands Services de Sevres, Musee National de Ceramique, Sevres, 1951, pp.26-7



39. Cheruel and Regnier, Memoires du duc de Saint-Simon, 12, pp.441-42, quoted in BK Wheaton, Savouring the Past: the French Kitchen & Table from 1300 to 1789, London, 1983, p.156

40.B.K.Wheaton, Savouring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789, London, 1983, p.140

41.little survives of this service as the King apparently tired of it and sold portions of it to Lazare Duvaux in 1757. see P.Gregory, 'Le service bleu celeste de Louis XV a Versailles', La Revue du Louvre, February 1982, 1, pp.40-46

42.Savill, 1988, p.736

43.G.de Bellaigue, op.cit., p.240

44.S.Bursche, Tafelzier des Barock, Munich, 1974, figs 139, 140

45.Savill, 1988, pp.744-5

46. a depiction of all four lined up together to show the difference in sizes is shown in G.de Bellaigue, The Louis XVI Service, Cambridge, 1986, plate XVI

47.on appelle des desserts, ces paniers ou corbeilles d'osier fin qu'on employait autrefois a servir sur table les fruits frais ou confits, & autres ouvrages de sucre. Savill, 1988, p.754

48.C.Dauguet and D.Guillemme-Brulon, 'Le Decor de la Table au XVIIIe Siecle', L'Estampille, January, 1975, pp.5-15

49. A dessert service in turquoise blue, painted with birds by Francois-Joseph Aloncle, Antoine-Joseph Chappius, and Etienne Evans, now at Waddesdon Manor was sold from the factory in 1767 to the Russian Marechal de Razomousky. It comprised 48 assiettes beu Cte piseaux, 12 Compotiers Id., 6 Platteaux Id. Bouret Et triangles, 4 Soucoupes a pieds Id., 2 Sucriers Et platteaux Id., 2 Pots a Confitures Id., 24 Tasses a glaces Id., 2 Seaux a Bouteilles Id., 2 Id. a 1/2 Bouteilles Id., 2 Id. ovales a Liqueurs Id., 2 Id.Crenneles Id., 2 Id. a Glaces Id. ( 48 plates painted with birds in a blue border (?), 12 compotiers of Bouret and triangular shape (fruit stands) the same, 6 triangular stands on low feet the same, 4 round stands on low feet the same, 2 sugar tureens and stands the same, 2 jam pots the same, 24 ice-cups the same, 2 wine-coolers, full-size the same, 2 wine-coolers the same, half-size, 2 coolers the same, each for two

decanters, 2 coolers for wine glasses the same, 2 ice-pails the same). In addition, there exist dishes of shell, oval and square shape. The whole costs 7,716 livres. S.Eriksen, The James De Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Sevres Porcelain, Fribourg, 1968, pp.206-8

50.M.Brunet and T. Preaud, Sevres: des origines a nos jours, Fribourg, 1978, p.174, no.149

51.They are described in the Encyclopedie as un nom moderne donne a des liqueurs agreables au gout, preparees avec art & glacees en forme de tendres congelations. Savill, 1988, p.773

52.M.Brunet and T. Preaud, op. cit., p.174, no.151

53.G.Casanova, History of My Life, 4, 39, quoted in BK Wheaton, op.cit, p.159

54.An advertisement by one Germain-Despargnes which appeared on the 22nd June, 1758, gives an idea of what the factories aimed at: Le sieur Germain-Despargnes fait fabriquer une tres belle faience japonne [enamelled] facon Saxone, dans les gout les plus nouveaux, rue de Boulets, faubourg St.Antoine, a la Croix-Faubin, no.3 Cette faience imite singulierement la porcelaine et a, d'ailleurs, l'avantage d'etre plus solide et de couter beaucoup moins. L'email en est tres brillant; les formes sont tres agreables. On a meme trouve moyen d'y faire briller l'or, comme sur la porcelaine. J.Terrasson, Les Hannong et leurs Manufactures Strasbourg Frankenthal, Paris, c.1973, p.46

55.melees avec cette terre ignoble, connue sous le nom de fayence. Rouquet, L'Etat des Arts en Angleterre, Paris, 1755, p.134

56.A.Lane, French Faience, London, 1948, p.17

57.H.Haug, Les Faiences et Porcelaines de Strasbourg, 1922, [reprint Heppenheim, 1979], p.17

58.J.Giacomotti, French Faience, Fribourg, 1963, p.153

59. The products of the factory were advertised in the newspapers in 1754, advertising nouvelles terres et faiences japonnees at the Paris shop address, on y trouve tout ce qu'on peut desirer en bijoux et services de table. La couleur et la dorure appliquees sur ces nouvelles faiences n'en cedent quere pour le dessin et pour la nouveaute a celle des porcelaines de Saxe. Terrasson, op.cit.,



60.H.-P.Fourest, 'The Sceaux Faience Factory', The Connoisseur,  
October, 1961, pp.107-112

## Chapter Eight: The Spread of Porcelain Factories throughout Europe

Europe in the 18th century was not the collection of nation-states that we are familiar with today. Though France had seen a strengthening of central authority and its borders under the reign of Louis XIV, and England and Scotland had achieved parliamentary union in 1702, much of central Europe and Italy remained a loose federation of states nominally under the authority of the Holy Roman Empire, as it was in the 16th century. However, the Thirty Years War (1618-48), following closely on the troubles of the Reformation, had done much to undermine that authority and give the princes of Germany absolute power within their dominions, leaving the Emperor with few sources of revenue in Germany other than the 15,000 florins he received annually for acting as Protector of the Jews (1). Moreover, the devastation of Germany by war had undermined the development of a Germanic culture, and German princes looked to the Court of Louis XIV of France, rather than that of the Holy Roman Emperor, for a model, strengthened by the fact that Louis paid them enormous subsidies for their political support, a sum apparently equal to almost the entire currency in circulation

Germany in the 17th and 18th centuries (2). This led to much local resentment and hostility, often allied to moral objections against dissolute French life; the 17th century German philosopher Christian Thomas commented on the prevalence of French clothes, dishes, languages, French customs and French vices (3), which he thought were undermining Germany.

Germany thus continued to comprise over two thousand separate territories, ranging from nine separate Electorates (Bavaria, Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate and Hanover, and the three Bishoprics of Mainz, Cologne and Trier-Coblenz), through to ninety-four principalities, each ruled by its own Prince, with a handful of cities owing allegiance to the Empire and fifty one self-governing towns. There were over eighteen hundred individual princes, and although over one thousand of them were 'Imperial Knights', ruling over only about 200,000 subjects, many supported a court and all its appurtenances. This they did on an extravagant scale, each modelling himself on the Court of Versailles as much as possible, though ironically at Versailles itself German Princes had to give precedence to French Princes of the Blood (blood relatives of Henri IV or Louis XIV), which caused much heartache for German princely visitors (4). Each Prince maintained an army, used more

often for gorgeous parades than war, and an opera and ballet based on the French model, and a variety of summer and winter palaces, decorated with maximum richness of effect by craftsmen imported from France or Italy. This aping of French court life aroused a certain degree of nationalistic resentment, especially from Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia, who noted German princes' apparent need for soldiers, huntsmen, a troupe of Comedians, an opera company and mistresses (5).

The Courts themselves were inefficient and overmanned to a degree that would astonish us today. They were staffed with placemen and petty Court Officials, who occupied such unnecessary posts as Master of the Horse, Officer of the Hunt, or the purely nominal title of Councillor. The point of many of these posts was that they gave access to the person of the Sovereign, which could be used to gain favour at Court, and they had been sold to the postholder when the Crown found its debts more pressing than usual. Apart from these nominal posts, the Courts were also overrun with a wide variety of entertainers, singers and dancers, jesters and Court fools. The Court fools were especially interesting, as they sometimes doubled up as executioners and could punish courtiers with a beating, just as in turn they could be beaten by the Prince himself. The courts

also acted as a magnets for any travelling mountebanks or alchemists and other tricksters, including those who professed to know the secret (arcanum) of the making of true porcelain. The French writer and philosopher Voltaire, who sought German patronage and for a time was employed by Frederick II of Prussia, wrote to his favourite niece, Mme Denis, that the majority of the German Courts today like those of the ancient Paladins. They are old castles where one seeks amusements. One finds there pretty ladies-in-waiting, handsome bachelors; they engage mountebanks (6). He does not admit that he himself benefitted from this patronage!

A typical example of a German 18th century prince may be that of Karl-Eugene of Wuertemburg. He had no doubt as to the divine origin of his status, declaring himself to be the Fatherland and the image of the Godhead on earth, and he acted accordingly. He maintained a household of over 1,800 officials, including a Court Chamberlain, a cup-bearer, pages, halberdiers, and eight hundred horses for his own use. He had travelled to Paris before he ascended in 1747, and had met Louis XV and Madame de Pompadour, and had come back with a passion for all things French. He rebuilt the royal palace at Ludwigsburg with the help of French and Italian craftsmen in 1746, and in 1753

visited Italy, where he visited the excavations at Pompeii and the newly-founded royal porcelain factory at Capodimonte. His principal occupations seem to have been drilling his army and making enormous hunting expeditions into the countryside. In Germany hunting was an exclusive right of the sovereign, but was really more akin to butchery, since the animals were herded into closed spaces or enclosures to be the object of pot-shots by the courtiers, and then left to run around until they died (7). Daily court life was enlivened by continuous feasting, masquerades, and opera and ballet, for which purpose Karl-Eugene kept his own troupes of singers and dancers. However, all these extravagances had a deleterious effect on the country's finances, and left the state in constant debt, with consequent impoverishment of the people. Although Karl-Eugene was in receipt of a subsidy from Louis XV from 1752-56, six thousand of his subjects emigrated to America during his reign owing to the adverse economic conditions. Dr. Charles Burney, the celebrated English musician, visited Wuerttemberg at this time and commented that half the population of Wuerttemberg consisted of violinists and theatre folk, the other half of beggars and paupers (8).

One of Karl-Eugene's pleasures, in common with that of other sovereigns in Germany, was that of setting up and maintaining of

a porcelain factory, which was established in the grounds of his palace at Ludwigsburg in 1758. In its founding decree he stated that a porcelain factory was 'the indispensable accompaniment of splendour and magnificence'. For a King a porcelain factory was both a symbol of prestige, a token of his country's capacity for industrial innovation, and a means of keeping specie (gold and silver bullion) in the country. Such factories were a feature of court life, and they depended on the court for inspiration for the subject matter of the items they created, and craftsmen to provide models, who were often the court sculptors. Above all, they depended on royal subsidy, since few if any ever paid their way, and often even situated within the palace complex itself. They were essentially not seen as an economic activity in themselves, so much as an appurtenance of court life.

The spread of the porcelain factories throughout Germany can be briefly chronicled as follows: Nymphenburg, near Munich, belonging to the Wittelsbach rulers of Bavaria, founded in 1747; Hoechst, near Mainz, belonging to the Elector of Mainz, in production from 1750 to 1796; Berlin, belonging to the King of Prussia, founded in 1751; Fuerstenberg, belonging to the Duke of Brunswick, founded in 1753; Frankenthal, in the Electorate of Mannheim, in production from 1755 to 1800; Ludwigsburg, near

Stuttgart, founded by the aforementioned Karl-Eugene, in production from 1758 to 1824; and many lesser factories such as Kelsterbach, near Darmstadt, set up by the Landgrave of Hesse (1761-68); Fulda, west of Frankfurt, supported by its Prince-Bishop of Mainz (1764-89); and Kassel, supported by Landgrave Frederick II of Hesse-Nassau (1766-1788). Of the twenty eight factories on German-speaking soil, at least ten were begun by princes, and at least eight more encouraged or supported by them; the period 1746-80 was christened the great period of invasion by porcelain factories as Franz Joseph Weber, former director of the Hoechst factory in his book Die Kunst das echte Porzellan zu verfertigen of 1798.

The ground for these porcelain factories had been prepared by the large number of factories making good quality tin-glazed earthenware that had been set up in Germany, which were able to supply experienced personnel. They were supported by privileges from the local ruler, who was generally anxious to support industry in his own domains. Most made tin-glazed earthenware of high quality in imitation of porcelain, which was often misleadingly called faience-porcelain; consequently they followed porcelain styles in decoration, making great use of low-fired colours fired on in the muffle kiln. We have already noted the



factories at Hanau and Frankfurt; another factory was set up in Ansbach by Matthias Bauer and Johann Ripp between 1708-10 with the permission of the Markgraf Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, who forbade the import of the products of other factories into his dominions (9). This is best known for its excellent copies of Chinese famille verte porcelain in green, yellowish green, iron-red, light, sulphur yellow and black, and well as fine Imari patterns and plates painted with coats-of-arms surrounded by Laub- und Bandelwerk (10). However, staff did not remain attached to one institution and Ripp went on to help run rival tin-glaze factories at Nuremberg in 1712 and Bayreuth in 1719.

The status of faience was much raised by the contribution of painters from the Meissen factory, especially the painter Abraham von Loewenfinck. He had worked at Bayreuth in 1736 and at Ansbach in from 1737 to 1740, and from 1741 to 1744-5 he was the chief enameller at the factory at Fulda east of Frankfurt, where the title 'Court Enameller' conferred on him by the Prince Bishop of Mainz in recognition of his achievement in attracting trade and industry to the state. Products copying Meissen shapes, and styles of decoration were made, including freely painted chrysanthemums and oriental flowers, and a signed harbour piece in the Meissen manner is known, possibly by his wife, Maria

Schick, who was also a painter. Loewenfinck also went on to found and direct a faience factory at Hoechst, east of Frankfurt, in partnership with the merchants Johann Christof Goeltz and his son-in-law Johann Felizius Clarus, who obtained a patent for making porcelain in 1746. Although they never succeeded in making true porcelain, they made faience of a notably flamboyant rococo character, including tureens in the shape of flowers or animals, and wares with enamel painting by Loewenfink, the painter Zeschinger, and the wandering Joseph Philip Dannhofer, who had started at Vienna (fig 1). Loewenfinck left after a dispute with Goeltz in 1749, and went on to try (unsuccessfully) to establish a factory at Coblenz, before moving to Strasbourg, where he died in 1754.

All these ceramic factories, with their system of government support and tariffs on imports, were an aspect of the economic beliefs of the 18th century, with their insistence on keeping specie within the country, and their attempts to restrict trade with other countries and indeed try and capture it themselves. To some extent they were justified: the faience factory at Nueremburg collapsed in 1769 when the removal of protective

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1) Wall-light in the rococo style. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Hoechst, c.1746-7.

tariffs allowed the products of the neighbouring factories of Ansbach and Bayreuth to be sold at the Easter fair (11). However, the system itself, with its emphasis on local custom duties, tended to discourage industry as it limited the sale of goods outside the local state and limited a factory's potential clientele. To encourage sales, various princes, such as Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia, resorted to odd means, who insisted that the Jews in his territories had to buy porcelain to the value of 600 talers.

Though a large number of factories were operating in Germany, the products were visually very similar; it is easier to give them a date than to establish a particular factory style. Virtually all their products were in the rococo style, which as we have seen originated in France. However, the rococo in Germany has quite different characteristics from that in France; it is a lighter-weight, less substantial style, in which the motifs are crowded together with any real regard for their overall effect. The French Duchesse d'Orleans had already observed in 1721 that Germany not only imitates France but always does double what is done here (12). The style was often propagated by French or Italian craftsmen called over for their particular skills, most notably in the work of the Frenchman Jean Francois Cuvillies

(1695-1768) who decorated the palaces in Munich in a notably flamboyant rococo style. What is especially noticeable about the German rococo is the way in the Muschelwerk, the rocky-shell-like rocaille, developed into a rather sinister lifeform which spread sinister tentacles in the background, a style much imitated by the modellers at the porcelain factories. There were also a number of accomplished designers and engravers of ornament, most notably the engraver Johann Elias Nilson of Augsburg (1721-88), whose work was often inspired or copied from the work of Antoine Watteau and Francois Boucher, only with rather more elaboration than in the French, the subjects being generally loving couples at work or play. Another important source for rococo design and decoration was the Italian painter Jacopo Amigoni (1675-1752), who worked in and around Munich. Their works became part of an international visual language, and the same print source can be found as a source of decoration on the products from a wide variety of factories; identical prints by Nilson and Amiconi were used by porcelain factories as widespread as Frankenthal, Kloster Veilsdorf, and Zurich (13).

Porcelain was especially associated with the fashion for coffee and tea drinking, which reached a peak of fashion in the mid 18th century. The lighter rococo style, with its borrowings

from the East, was thought especially suitable for lightweight entertainment, as the engraving by Nilson of the 'New Coffee House' (fig 2). Coffee sets generally comprised a tall coffee pot, milk jug, sugar bowl and cups and saucers, all decorated in the most up-to-date manner, and were considered a great symbol of wealth and luxury. However, coffee drinking was also seen as a symptom of the degeneracy of the times and considered foreign, unmanly and degenerate, and was the object of a proclamation by Frederick the Great of Prussia in 1777: It is disgusting to note the increase in the quantity of coffee used by my subjects and the amount of money that goes out of the country in consequence. Everybody is using coffee...My people must drink beer. His Majesty was brought up on beer, and so were his officers. Many battles have been fought and won by soldiers nourished on beer; and the King does not believe that coffee-drinking soldiers can be depended upon to endure hardships or to beat his enemies in the case of the occurrence of another war (14).

Frederick the Great dominated the political stage in Germany through his attempts to ward off the Austrian-Saxon alliance formed against him during the Seven Years War (1756-63). He thus

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2) Johann Elias Nilson (1721-88). Neues Caffeehaus. Engraving

played a major part in undermining the status of the great Meissen factory, when his troops invaded Saxony and damaged the kilns. He toyed with the idea of transporting the factory lock, stock and barrel to Berlin, but instead contented himself with appointing a factor, Georg Michel Helbig, to run the factory of his behalf. Much of the factory's output was destined for Frederick himself, including six large dinner services. Some of which were apparently designed by the King himself (15), including some painted with Japanese figures or flowers, in the traditional manner of decoration of the early years of the factory, and two services were painted with a chequered border called Mosaïque in green and black or red and gold. This latter kind of decoration was copied throughout Europe and even appears on Chinese export porcelain. However, the greatest achievement of Meissen in this period was the great dinner service made to his order for the Prussian General Moellendorf in about 1761, much of which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. This comprised a range of tureens, condiment pots and other vessels, with mythological human supports modelled by Kaendler, and a border of moulded reliefs of musical and astronomical instruments and flowers. Kaendler had been offered employment at the Berlin factory by Frederick, but declined, possibly in the hope of eventually completing the long-projected monument to his absent

master Augustus III (16).

Similarly the factory at Vienna lost artistic ground in the mid 18th century, as the wares of the factory lost their Baroque individuality with the takeover by the State in 1744. The old Director, Du Paquier, was forced to retire and artistic influence was held by Johann Joseph Niedermeyer, a former teacher at the State Academy, who became chief modeller (Modellmeister) in 1747. The factory began in 1749 to use the mark of a shield in blue. With his colleague Leopold Dannhauser, a former Bossierer (repairer or assembler of figures), they produced a wide range of figures of high quality within the accepted range of German porcelain, including pastoral groups and figures from the Commedia dell'Arte. The tablewares are also of high quality but unexceptional design, well-painted with pastoral figures and rococo decoration. The factory had the advantage of being able to sell its wares throughout the Roman Empire and beyond, setting up showrooms in Karlsbad, Trieste, Prague, Lemberg, Ofen and Bruenn, and developing a market in small coffee cups with the neighbouring country of Turkey.

The spread of porcelain factories in mid 18th century Germany led to intense competition for the sale of their

products, as is witnessed by a series of published price lists which appeared immediately after the Seven Years War, what financial pressures meant that factories had to rely less on State subsidy. The most famous are the different 'Freiscourants' for Meissen (1765), Nymphenburg (1767) and Frankenthal (1777), which list the variety of their products, clearly intended for buyers from other countries. From these we are able to ascertain their range of products, what they costs and any general differences. The most important wares were tea- and coffee--services, dinner and dessert services, and the small decoration items of porcelain known as galanterien.

The most important list is perhaps the Meissen Preis-Courante von Ordinairen Porcellainen theils gutes Sorten of 1765 (17). This lists items according to their modelled pattern (Neu Ozier, Gotzkowsky, Glatt, Ordinar Ozier, Marzelle Zierather; their Decor (painting): 'natuerliches Blumen, Bogeln, bunte Fruchten, purpur und gruene Blumen' and according to their level of quality, as well as Galantieren and figures. A 'complete coffee service' at Meissen consisted of twelve coffee-cups with handles, six chocolate cups with handles, slop-basin, coffee-pot, milk-jug, teapot, sugar basin, tea-caddy and a bread-and-butter plate. Prices ranged from 18 Taler 20 Groschen for a coffee-



service in a plain shape decorated in underglaze blue to 248 Taler 18 Groschen to one painted with Watteauischen Figuren in zwei Parthien und mit Mosaique (18).

Coffee services are also listed in the Nymphenburg price list, although in smaller quantities, in three levels of quality. They were accompanied by a bread-and-butter plate called a Bord-Tasse, indicating the use of white bread. At other factories, such as Fuerstenberg, such an item was called a Zucker-oder-Einsatz-Schale (sweet-meat dish). Cups without handles were made for the Turkish market. The Nymphenburg list lists also Thee-schalen (tea-cups) with a handle, tea-strainers, a teapot for sixteen cups with a rechaud (warmer) and spirit-lamp, and Zuckertassen (sugar-basins) and Milchtoepfgen (milk-jugs). Teacups were shallower and more bowl-like than coffee-cups, whereas chocolate cups were taller, closer to a cylindrical shape (19).

Dinner-services were also made by every important factory and appeared to have followed the French mode, with items made for the layout of service a la francaise. French cuisine dominated Germany in the 18th century, though there may have been greater emphasis on the vast quantities of game being eaten, and

a certain reluctance in taking up the use of knife and fork, which was confined at first to the Electors themselves. The style and language was of course couched in French, sometimes with ludicrous results. A Westphalian nobleman told his cook in a mixture of French and German: Ecoute, Cuisinier, von meinen Kamaraden hab'ich zwei oder drei zum Dejeuner geladen. Mach mir ein gut Potage und all Appartenant wie man es a la court zu dressieren pflegt en France [Listen, Cook, I have invited two or three of my friends to dinner. Prepare me a soup and surrounding course as is found at the Court of France]. On being criticized for the quality of his stews, the Cook replied that it was commensurate with the quality of his master's German (20)!

A Meissen dinner services comprised plates made in sets of a dozen, as well as the following pieces: hors d'oeuvres plates, soup plates, several large dishes, salad bowls, tureens and stands, compotiers, meat-plates, sauce-boats, butter-dishes, butter-boats, salt-cellars, knife-handles, cruet spoons, mustard-spoons, a plat de menage of eleven or six pieces, such as jugs or bottles for vinegar, sugar caster, cruets for salt, pepper, ginger and other spices; punch-bowls, with or without cover, punch-ladles, soup-ladles, table candlesticks, sweetmeat dishes of all kinds, finger-bowls with ewers, table-jugs, soup-tureens

with stands, soup-bowls with stands, broth-basins and stands. Separate pieces were listed for the dessert: plates with open-work borders, sweetmeat dishes in the form of poplar leaves, sun-flowers, cabbage- or vine-leaves, open-work sweetmeat-baskets both oval in form and round, and round and oval baskets on four timbered legs (21). The list for Nymphenburg does not specify plats de menages, but does call the tureen a Potacile in the French manner, and talks also of covered sugar bowls, salad-bowls, and even Cocot-Gefasse und Tolelpfgen (cream pots), as well as Cucumber-Tassen (for cucumber juice?), egg-cups and sceaux for wine-glasses, which were also obtainable at the Frankenthal factory. It will thus be seen that in many ways the wares of the Nymphenburg comes closer to those of the French factories, appropriate for a factory whose wares were so much in the rococo taste.

The Frankenthal list for a dinner-service of twelve covers is as follows: twelve soup-plates, sixty meat-plates, two oval and two round tureens with stands [these presumably for olio and terrine in the French manner], two large oval dishes, four of medium size, eight small ones, two large round dishes, two medium and eight small ones, two large salad-bowls, two sauce-boats with stands, two mustard-pots with spoons, six round fruit

dishes, four salt-cellars, two butter-dishes with stands, and twelve Cocots, making a total of 140 pieces (22). It will be seen that dinner services were conceived in multiples of twelve, allowing for twelve diners; the sixty meat-plates were presumably for replacing the plates for the different foods in the separate courses.

A major feature of the production of all the German factories was the fabrication of porcelain figures. As we have seen, these were designed for table decoration during the dessert. The German factories had the great advantage of being able to use the court sculptor for models, which resulted in some very fine pieces being made, which perhaps shows their ceramic achievement at its highest. The subject matter of the figures existed in close rapport with various court festivities, and frequently drew inspiration from them. Court festivities frequently celebrated the charms of rural life, without any conception of the poverty and misery that lay behind it. For instance, in Saxony and Vienna the Wirtschaft was popular, a festival in which the Court imitated a village wedding at a country inn; it was held on Shrove Tuesday, or for the benefit of visiting dignitaries and carefully staged, in the manner of a stage production. It included sleigh rides, amateur theatricals

and ballets, and the Courtiers put on national dress, or dressed as tradesmen, farmers, gardeners, millers, shepherds, cobblers, acrobats or peddlers (23). Similar entertainments seem to have been enacted right across central Europe to Russia (24).

Most of the porcelain factories in Germany had similar organizations, similar to those at Meissen and Sevres, with separate sections for preparing the clays, firing the kilns, painting, glazing, and a variety of people involved in the production of figurative and moulded wares, especially the Bossierer or "repairer", who assembled and finished the figures. For our purposes, the key figures were the head of the modelling studio, who modelled the wares and the figures, and the head of the painting studio, both selected by the director. Some idea of the relative importance of each member of staff can be gained from the salaries paid at the Berlin factory in the 18th century: Modellmeister [head of modelling] - 2000 taler; Malereivorsteher [head of painting] - 2000 taler; Manufakturdirektor [Director] - 1400 taler; 1. Arkanist [first chemist] - 1200 taler; 2. Malereivorsteher [deputy head of painting] - 1100 taler; Figurenmaler [figure painter] - 1000 taler; Rechnungsfuhrer [accountant] - 800 taler; Hauptkassierer [head cashier] - 500 taler; Gurtlermeister [? mount-maker] - 500

taler; Revisor [auditor] - 500 taler; Ofenmeister [oven master] - 480 taler; Verwaltungsinspektor [head of administration] - 400 taler; Geschirrschreiber [tableware painter] - 180 taler (25).

Meissen and Vienna remained the main factories making hard-paste porcelain in Europe until the mid 18th century. The spread of porcelain factories in Europe was dependent on the services of that magical figure, the arcanist, the man with the secret of making porcelain. The 18th century saw the rise of several professional arcanists, adventurers who went from one court to another, selling the secret of porcelain manufacture that was thought to be so prestigious. Many of these arcanists were, in fact, spurious, such as the glass- and faience-painter Johann Christoph Glaeser, who obtained money from Ernst August I of Saxe-Weimar in 1740, and Elias Vater, who tricked the Elector of Bavaria in 1729. However, two figures were genuine, and gave rise to many of the porcelain factories in Germany. These were Johann Benckgraff (1708-1753) and John Jakob Ringler (1730-1804) from the Vienna factory. Although Benckgraff was older, it would appear that he learnt the secret of porcelain kiln construction from his colleague Ringler, and the two were personally responsible for the rise of many important new factories in Germany.

Ringler and Benckgraff travelled round Europe, spreading the secret of porcelain wherever they went; in this respect they may almost be compared to a bee, pollinating the flowers as they went around. In 1750 they were summoned one after the other to Hoechst by the merchant Goeltz, one of the original partners of the faience factory, which promptly commenced the production true porcelain instead. The first workers included eleven painters, five modellers, one turner, and one ovenmaster. Early products included copies of Meissen figures and tablewares, including the Gotzkowsky pattern on borders. Painting of flowers was carried out by the faience painters Johannes Zeschinger, as well as landscape and cattle painting by J. Angele and H. Usinger. The standard is good but unexceptional; the most interesting products are perhaps a group of commedia dell'arte figures by the modeller Simon Feilner based on prints by the engraver Johann Jacob Wolrab published in Nuremberg in about 1720 (26).

Goeltz now dealt with Benckgraff in the way that he had dealt with Loewenfinck, accusing him of selling the secret to Berlin, and pressing charges against him until he was dismissed. Goeltz himself went bankrupt in 1756, whereupon the Elector of Mainz took over the factory, and prosecuted Goeltz for

embezzlement. The factory closed in 1757 and reopened in 1758 under the direction of Johann Heinirch Maas. The new factory benefitted from refugees from the factory at Meissen, including the modellers Johann Friedrich Lueck (fig 3) and his brother Karl Gottlieb, and the painter Gottlieb Friedrich Riedel (1724-84).

Under Maas, Hoechst developed a figure style of its own under the sculptor Laurentius Russinger, who is first listed in the records in 1758. He is thought to have executed a wide range of figures of farmers, monks, musicians, as well as two groups after the French artist Pater, Le Baiser Donne and Le Baiser Rendu (27). The attribution of some fine models is frequently disputed between him and the great J.P. Melchior, who succeeded Russinger as Modellmeister in 1767 at the age of twenty, and became court sculptor in 1770 (28). His models were clearly very heavily influenced by the biscuit models of Sevres, and he produced many fine porcelain figures of children in the manner of the enfants Boucher of Sevres, which show the same pinched facial expressions, as well as small figures of Turks (29). His most ambitious works are probably the two groups of Amyntas and Sylvia and The Sleep of the Shepherdess after Le Songe Pastoral

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3) Group emblematic of Spring. Hard-paste porcelain painted in enamel colours and gilt. Hoechst, modelled by Johann Friedrich Lueck, 1758.



after prints by Francois Boucher and J.E. Nilson, in which a certain stiffness pervades the overall rococo conception (fig 4). He also worked as a sculptor and produced some fine portrait medallions, and a large group of The Crucifixion, with expressive figures of St. John and the two Maries at the base (30).

While working at Hoechst, Benckgraff had travelled on to Berlin in 1752, where a factory had been set up by Wilhelm Kaspar Wegely in 1751. The early work of this factory is quite simple, with services with simple moulded decoration with flowers and underglaze painting. The main modeller seems to have been Ernst Heinrich Reichard, who appears to have copied from Kaendler the charming group of the boy and girl with a birdcage (fig 5). The factory was severely affected by the Seven Years War, and in 1756 Wegely travelled to Dresden to seek help from Frederick the Great, who was then occupying the town (31). Frederick refused to help Wegely, and the factory closed in 1757. However, the Meissen painters Gottlob Albert and Johann Gottfried Besser had already moved to Berlin at the beginning of

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4) Group of Amyntas and Sylvia after Francois Boucher. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in colours. Hoechst, modelled by Johann Peter Melchior, c.1770

5) Group of children with a bird-cage. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Berlin, modelled by Heinrich Reichart, c.1755

the war, and the field was clear for a major state factory to develop in Berlin.

The establishment of a porcelain factory had become part of Frederick the Great's economic policy. He had ascended in 1740 and immediately set up a Department of Commerce and Manufactures to promote economic expansion of the state of Prussia. He was following the mercantilist teaching of his tutor, Hille, that this would prevent a drain of specie out of the country. To this end he summoned the merchant Johann Ernst Gotzkowsky to Berlin to set up a silk industry to rival that of France (32). The nascent factory was not assisted by the beginnings of the Seven Years War in 1756, nor the invasion of Berlin by Russian troops in 1760. With the occupation of Meissen by Prussian troops in 1760 Frederick told Gotzkowsky to set up a porcelain factory to rival the famous Saxon one. In 1761 the Meissen painters Carl Wilhelm Bechme, Johann Balthasar Bormann and the sculptor Friedrich Elias Meyer (a pupil of Kaendler) moved to Berlin. In 1762 Gotzkowsky was able to show Frederick first-class specimens of porcelain and from 1763 the factory was the property of Frederick himself. It developed a flamboyant rococo style, with large sprays of flowers, and rich curvaceous moulding, and sparing use of ground colours, best seen in the great service for Sans Souci. The

factory developed a speciality in large dinner services, complete with Waermegloecke (dish covers) as a separate article. An especially magnificent service, painted with a yellow border and Japanese figures, was made in 1769-1770 (fig 6) (33). Many of these were intended as presentation pieces from the King himself, of whom it was said that the presents that he makes to people at home or abroad are usually of porcelain from his factory (34). A most ambitious service was that made for the Empress Catherine II of Russia in 1770-72 which survives in the Hermitage, Leningrad. A great centrepiece in undecorated porcelain was modelled by Friedrich Elias Meyer, showing the Empress seated under a canopy surrounded by people from her empire paying homage. There survives in the Berlin archives a drawing of the figures set out on mirror trays for the dessert, surrounded by baskets for fruit and leaf-shaped dishes; this appears to be one of our best surviving records of the layout of an 18th century dessert service (35).

In the meantime Benckgraff had left Hoechst in 1753 with his colleagues, the modeller Simon Feilner and Zeschinger, and the floral painters Geisler and Zissler, to go to Fuerstenburg in

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6) Tureen and stand from the service made for Frederick the Great for the Palace of Sans Souci. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gold. Berlin, 1769-70

Brunswick. Here a porcelain factory had been set up in 1747 by Duke Carl I, who had attempted to make porcelain with the help of the spurious chemist Johann Christof Glaser. The courtier and factory manager von Langen commented that Glaser is a miserable painter; everything else he had produced is useless, and whatever he still plans to do is a lie. We are as far removed from true porcelain as brass is from gold (36). With the arrival of Benckgraff the factory began to make porcelain, and the modeller Feilner produced a large number of shapes for useful wares, as well as a series of commedia dell'arte figures in 1752-3 based on prints by the engraver Johann Jacob Wolrab that he had used at Hoechst (37). In 1757-8 he modelled a series of twelve miners, followed by Gods and Goddesses and some equestrian figures, as well as typical figures of lovers in fashionable dress (fig 7). He was discharged for laziness and insubordination in 1768, leading to a decline in the number of figures produced. Early tablewares were of high quality and often moulded, with the highlights picked out in gilding (fig 8). Painting reached a very high standard under von Federvieh and Johann Chirstoph Kind, as

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7) Group of a fashionably-dressed couple. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Fuerstenberg, modelled by Simon Feilner, c.1760

8) Plate painted after a print of Astronomy after Jacob Amigoni. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in colours. Fuerstenberg, 1750-55

seen in the service made for Duke Carl I with landscapes by Pacha Johann Friedrich Weitsch, recently rediscovered in the British Royal Collection.

Meanwhile, the arcanist J.J. Ringler had been active east of the border at the faience centre of Strasbourg in France. In 1752 he had assisted Paul-Anton Hannong in setting up a porcelain factory there, which had to move in 1754, when Louis XV proclaimed restrictions on porcelain production in France in favour of the royal factory at Vincennes. Hannong then moved the factory to Frankenthal across the border in Alsace under the patronage of the Elector of Mannheim, employing his eldest son Charles-Francois-Paul as director at Frankenthal, to be succeeded on his death in 1757 by his younger brother, Joseph-Adam. The major modeller of figures was Johann Wilhelm Lanz, who produced some wonderful figures, complete with foliage backgrounds (fig 9). There seems to have been some attempt to market these in France in rivalry with Sevres porcelain, since the French border was so close, with fewer customs duties; for instance, the group of lovers representing autumn, listed in the 1760 Journal de Commerce as 'Love inspired by wine', cost ninety-six florins with

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9) Group representing 'Spring'. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Frankenthal, modelled by Johann Wilhelm Lanz, c.1755

the arbor and sixty-six florins without (fig 10). The Hoechst modeller Johann Friedrich Lueck and designer G.F.Riedel may have been responsible for characteristic figures of ladies and gentlemen, as well as well-known figures of the dancers Camargo and Salle after the French painter Lancret, and some flamboyant clock cases and inkstands in the rococo manner. The factory was sold to the Elector in 1762, two years after Paul Hannong's death. Especially fine models were produced by the Court sculptor Konrad Linck (1732-93), such as the figures of Neptune and other sea-gods in 1765, as well as allegorical groups relating to court life. Tablewares were sufficiently advanced for a price list to be issued in 1777.

J.J.Ringler moved on to Neudeck near Munich in Bavaria in 1753, where he stayed until 1757. The Elector Maximilian III of Bavaria had married Marie Anna Sophie, a daughter of Augustus the Strong, in 1745, and was keen to present his wife with a porcelain factory as a wedding present. The potter Franz Ignaz Niedermayer had been recruited for this purpose in 1747, as he was believed to have obtained the arcanum from a worker at the Meissen factory while they were enjoying some wine together and

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10) Group emblematic of Autumn. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Frankenthal, modelled by Johann Wilhelm Lanz, c.1755

exchanging confidences' (38). Jacob Helchis and Schreiber were called from Vienna as well, but success was not obtained until Ringler's arrival. Little is known of its early productions, except for fragments of a Garten-dessert modelled in 1755 by the sculptor Joseph Ponhauser of Vienna for the marriage of a Bavarian princess. The factory moved to the royal palace of Nymphenburg outside Munich in 1761.

This factory produced some of the greatest rococo porcelain in the world. The guiding spirit seems to have been the modeller Franz Anton Bustelli (1723-63). His origins are uncertain; his name suggests an Italian or even Swiss origin, possibly from the Ticino region, but he cannot be certainly connected with anyone listed in local records. He was employed at Nymphenburg from 1754 to his death in 1763. The sequence of his works can be reconstructed by a factory lists from 1755 onwards and the price-list of 1767. They comprise an enormous variety of religious figures, Chinese figures, figures in fashionable dress, including large centrepieces of a girl awakening a slumbering gentleman (The Sleeper Disturbed) and The Impetuous Lover. All these figures are modelled with a maximum of panache and expression, which hovers on the borders of baroque satire and rococo exuberance. His greatest work was the series of commedia

dell'arte figures which rank amongst the major achievements of 18th sculpture. They are first listed in the inventory of the Rossierformen of 1760 and after that in the catalogue of 1762, at a price of 9 Gulden, and in the price-list of the factory of 1767. There are sixteen in all, which seem to form eight pairs, which turn round and respond to each other. The women are all dressed in the height of fashion, with tightly corsetted waists, and the figures are unmasked in the manner of the later commedia dell'arte. What is remarkable is the degree of characterization put into each, which may reflect a central idea. Pantaloon's daughter Isabella rejects the advances of the Spanish Captain in favour of the elegant Octavio of noble birth (fig 11). The enraged Captain draws his dagger while Leda tries to prevent his anger with screams. Columbine dances with Scaramouche, while Pierrot is deceived by Mezzetin (39). However, Bustelli seems to have got little credit for the exuberance of his figures, and died neglected in 1763.

Bustelli had also modelled tablewares, snuff-boxes and other

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11) Figure of Isabella from the commedia dell'arte. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Nymphenburg, modelled by Franz Anton Bustelli, c.1755-60



Galanterien, which appear in its price-list of 1767 (fig 12). In that year the factory at Nymphenburg underwent a financial crisis, when its staff were reduced from 200 to 80, and was put on hold in the famine years 1771-72. Although its range increased with the appointment of the modeller Dominicus Auliczek as director in 1773, the factory was relegated to second best to Frankenthal after 1777, when Bavaria was ruled by Elector Karl Theodor of Mannheim. Full-scale production was not resumed until the later 18th century.

Ringler travelled on from Nymphenburg to assist at short-lived factories at Schrezheim in 1757, and at Ellwangen in 1757-8, but his last port of call was Ludwigsburg, at the behest of Duke Karl Eugene in February, 1759, to help set up the factory that had been decreed by the Duke on the 5th April, 1758. Here he settled and was to direct the factory for over forty years. By 1760 the factory employed a hundred people. The factory made relatively little useful ware, concentrating instead on figures, although domestic wares were made, based on silver forms, often very elaborate, the most famous being the table and toilet service made for the Marchesa Giovanelli-Martinengo of Venice in

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12) Tureen and stand. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Nymphenburg, c.1755

1763 (40). This has very elaborate handles and moulding framing a cartouche with a coat-of-arms and landscape painting on the sides. The factory also developed a line in the bird painting and modelling by Gottlieb Friedrich Riedel, the head painter from 1759 to 1779. In 1770 he published a pattern book Sammlung von Feder-Vieh besonders Haus-Gefluegel, nützlich Fabriken, and four large vases survive in Stuttgart with such decoration (fig 13).

The great glory of Ludwigsburg was its series of figures. The first modeller was Johann Carl Vogelmann, who arrived at the factory in 1759 and left to become chief modeller at Kelsterbach in 1764. Attributable to him are a series of putti as seasons. Another modeller was Johann Goz, to whom are attributed to candelabra with Apollo and Diana. But the chief modeller was Johann Christian Wilhelm Beyer, who was given the post at the age of 34 in 1759, and remained until 1767/8, when he went on to Vienna, where he modelled statues in the gardens of the Schonbrunn. Various antique figures are attributed to him, but the greatest seems to be the series of huntsmen and musicians

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13) Vase. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Ludwigsburg, painted by Gottfried Friedrich Riedel, c.1765

(fig 14). Another modeller was Joseph Nees, who was active from 1759 to 1767/8. He appears to have modelled a group of figures of dancers with arms outstretched, and a charming series of small fairground booths showing print-sellers and drapery sellers. Concurrently with the porcelain factory, a faience factory was run by the widow of Abraham von Loewenfinck from 1762 to 1795.

Although Hoechst, Berlin, Fuerstenberg, Frankenthal, Nymphenburg and Ludwigsburg were the major creative forces in 18th century German porcelain, a number of shorter-lived factories also played their part. Since they were founded in smaller principalities, they had fewer resources to draw on and were less able to develop individual styles and forms. Their wares were more heavily dependent on stylistic influences from the larger factories, and their access to fine modellers and painters rather more limited. The factory at Ansbach, which replaced the old faience factory, was set up in 1757 under the patronage of the Markgraf Karl Alexander of Brandenburg-Onolzbach with the help of craftsmen from the Meissen factory, then devastated by the Seven Years War. However, since the Markgraf was keen on Berlin porcelain, and indeed ordered a service from

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14) Figure of a trumpeter. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Ludwigsburg, modelled by Johann Christian Wilhelm Beyer, c.1760-65

there, many of the types copy Berlin models. The most notable examples are the fine quality tea- and coffee-wares where the jugs are decorated with mask spouts. The porcelain was disposed of by means of auction sales and lotteries, but the local market proved insufficient, and exports to Holland and Vienna proved important. The porcelain factory founded at Kelsterbach on the River Main near Mainz in 1761, was based on the existing faience factory of Koenigstadt, with the help of the Meissen arcanist Christian Daniel Busch. The factory was purchased and developed with Busch's help by the Landgrave Ludwig VIII, but, despite generous state subsidies, never survived the end of the century. Similarly a factory at Fulda in Hesse-Nassau in Prussia was based on the old faience factory with the help of the arcanist Nikolaus Paul in 1764. Pieces from it are rare, but it produced some fine figures modelling, especially from repairer Georg Ludwig Bartholome (1744-88) (fig 15). It closed in 1790. Nikolaus Paul also helped set up the factories at Kassel in 1766, Pflaz-Zweibruecken in 1768, Ottweiler in Nassau-Saarbruecken in 1763 and other lesser factories.

By contrast Switzerland had no crown prince to set up a

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15) Farmer's wife and vintner. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Fulda, probably modelled by Georg Ludwig Bartholome, c.1775

porcelain factory and was dependent on the initiatives of its private citizens. However, that is not to say that it was in any way intellectually backward and indeed a large number of European intellectuals, such as Voltaire (?), had been resident there. The wealthiest town was Zurich, which underwent a kind of cultural renaissance in the 18th century. The town was still nominally in the control of its guild system and local aristocracy, who issued sumptuary decrees forbidding the bourgeoisie to wear expensive fabrics, or even use porcelain on the dinner table. However, an influx of French and Italian refugees led to an economic expansion, including the setting up of silk and porcelain factories. The porcelain factory in Zurich was set up by private enterprise in 1763, by members of the Physikalische Gesellschaft, a society founded for the discovery and exploitation of local mineral ores. The proprietors observed that 'It was understood that a porcelain factory up to now has only been possible in localities where the land-owner has himself taken responsibility for the management or has granted the enterprise special advantages and dispensations'. Staff were recruited from the greater Germanic factories, including the painter Johann Daffinger from Vienna, and the modellers Josef Nees and Valentin Sonnenschein from Ludwigsburg. However, much of the artistic direction seems to have been under the painter and poet Salomon

Gessner, who appears to have encouraged a taste for romantic landscape painting on its wares. By 1769 the factory price-lists eighty-one different types of vessel with a choice of nine different designs, albeit mostly dinner- and tea-wares and figures ornaments on a small scale (fig 16). Their most ambitious pieces were a huge dinner service for the Prince Abbot of Einsiedeln, consisting of 350 pieces, including plates and cups, tureens, centrepieces and figures ornaments. The factory did not flourish, needing a lottery in 1774 to clear out unwanted stock, and was dissolved in 1790 (41). Parallel with this venture was a faience factory of good quality, imitating of that of Strasbourg, and figures similar to those from Lorraine (42).

Even lower down the scale flourished a wide range of faience factories across Northern and Central Europe, especially on the north coast of Germany, and in Scandinavia, where there was less competition from porcelain factories. Their wares naturally copied the rococo forms and decoration of France and Germany and included Crailsheim (1715-1827), Durlach (1723-1890), Kuenersberg (1745-67) Schrezheim (1752-1862) near Ellwangen in Wuerttemberg (43), and those in the Baltic Basin - Lesum (1755-

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16) Coffee-pot. Hard-paste porcelain, painted with a scene after Nilson in enamel colours and gilt. Zurich, c.1770

1800), Eckernfoerde (1765-88), Kiel (1763-88), Schleswig-Holstein (1755-1772) (44), Stockeldorf (1771-c.1811) in Luebeck (45), and Koenigsberg in East Prussia (1772-1811). Those on the Scandinavian coast have rather more individuality and include Copenhagen (1722-1814) in Denmark and Roerstrand (founded 1725), Stralsund (1755-1792) and Marieberg (1758-1788) in Sweden. The latter factory was run from 1766 by Pierre Berthevin of Mennecey, who introduced the production of porcelain. A line particular to the faience factory is the large rococo "terrace-vase", a vase set on a platform, sometimes with the innovative addition of printed decoration (46).

Faience of good quality was also made at the great historic centres in Italy, which had, however, lost their artistic pre-eminence and produced items of a middle range in a mixture of eastern and rococo styles. The Savona faience maker Giacomo Boselli seems to have been the first to import the petit feu painting style of Strasbourg, possibly via a factory at Marseilles (47). The main Italian factories were those of Felice Clerici (1745-c.1772) and Pasquale Rubati (c.1756) at Milan, Conte Camillo Ferniani at Faenza, Filippo Antonio Callegari and Antonio Casali at Pesaro (c.1763), and Rosetti and Ferretti at Lodi outside Milan. At their most inventive they produced finely

modelled wares of imaginative and extravagant shape, superbly painted in enamel colours, of great character and charm.

The many states of Italy also produced a number of fine porcelain factories, although their spread was nowhere near as pervasive as it was in Germany. They were a mixture of public and private initiatives, following the example of the Vezzi factory in Venice. Since Italy was traditionally a centre of taste and fashion, their wares often showed strongly individual features which are not paralleled in the work of other European factories. The factory at Doccia outside Florence was set up in 1737 by Marquis Carlo Ginori, who had travelled to Vienna in that year and come back with a privilege for making porcelain and the Hausmaler Anreiter von Zirnfeld. As might be expected, the early products of the factory are severely baroque in feel, with extensive debts to Viennese shapes (fig 17). However, it should be noted that much of this porcelain was tin-glazed, rather than lead-glazed. Tableware was decorated a stampino, that is, ornaments were cut out of vellum, placed on the porcelain and then stencilled round, as well as with a pseudo-Chinese pattern "a tulipano". Imitations of Meissen (Miniatures in the Saxon

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17) Coffee pot. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours with the arms of Cardinal Stoppani and gilt. Doccia, c.1755



manner with arabesques in red and gold) and cups decorated with fighting cockerels 'a galletto' were also made. In 1740 samples were taken to Vienna to compare with the factory's examples. The Anreitters in fact returned to Vienna in 1746 and Carl died there in 1747, his son entering the Imperial factory.

The great glory of Doccia was its sculptural decoration, either moulded onto tablewares, or as three-dimensional figures and groups. The first group comprises cups and saucers, teapots and other tablewares with side panels moulded with mythological scenes in high relief, some apparently derived from the work of the Renaissance sculptor Guglielmo della Porta (d.1577). The original lead moulds still survive with the Ginori family (48). These wares are often encountered painted or left in the white, and for years were mistakenly attributed to the Naples factory of Capodimonte. The second group includes copies of models by the sculptor Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi (1656-1740), from whose estate the factory presumably acquired them direct (49). Models include Time Discovering Beauty and The Deposition (fig 18), as well as two large decorative vases in the Museo Civico in Turin. These figures introduce a sculptural element into the otherwise

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18) The Deposition after Soldani-Benzi. Hard-paste porcelain. Height 28cm. Florence, Doccia, c.1760. The British Museum, London

rather weak figure production of Doccia.

Other Italian factories in private hands include the Venetian factories founded by the German, Nathaniel Friedrich Hewelcke (1758-63), who had left Dresden for the duration of the Seven Years War and gained a patent for making porcelain in the Meissen manner, and Geminiano Cozzi (1764-1812), who made a hybrid soft-paste porcelain in imitation of Meissen with painting ad uso del Giappone (in the Japanese manner) of high quality. Porcelain imitating that of Meissen and Sevres was also made at Le Nove in Venetian territory from 1762 to 1825, often in the most extreme rococo shapes. The guiding spirit here was the faience maker Antonibon, who continued in the meantime to make a large range of good quality faience at his factory at Bassano.

Links with Germany and Austria were again apparent in the foundation of the Capodimonte factory at Naples. Charles of Bourbon had married Maria Amalia of Saxony, daughter of Augustus III, one of the three 'porcelain princesses' who were to influence the development of porcelain in Europe so much. He immediately set about founding a porcelain factory, and in 1740 shipments of clay were brought from Cantanzaro to the workshops in the gardens of the Royal Palace; and unsuccessful attempts

were made to attract workmen from Meissen, as well as Anton Wagner and Jacobus Helchis from Vienna. The royal architect Ferdinando Sanfelice built a proper factory in the gardens of the Royal Palace of Capodimonte in 1743. The paste eventually made was soft-paste, rather than hard, but was of great beauty, which attracted the praise of visitors from abroad such as the Abbe de Saint-Non (50). The factory developed a reputation for fine painting; for instance, battle scenes by Giuseppe della Torre, or flower painting by Maria Caselli. The chief modeller was Giuseppe Gricci, who modelled a charming series of small groups depicting religious scenes, street cries or local types. Some extraordinary rococo snuff-boxes were made in the form of shells, as well as a bizarre ewer and basin of rocaille encrusted with frutti di mare (marine life) motifs. Most remarkable is the great porcelain room from the Palace of Portici, today in the museum at Capodimonte in Naples. It was produced in 1757-9, modelled by Giuseppe and Stefano Gricci, and painted by J.S. Fischer and Luigi Restile (fig 19). Charles succeeded his half-brother Ferdinand VI as King of Spain in 1759 and moved the staff and materials to Buen Retiro near Madrid in 1760. This made a wide variety of wares in the manner of Capodimonte, with especial skill shown in the figure

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19) Section from the porcelain room from the Palace at Portici, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples

modelling. It produced yet another porcelain room, for the Palace of Aranjuez, south of Madrid, in 1763-5 (51). The factory lasted until destroyed during the Napoleonic Wars in 1812.

Little porcelain was made in Spain outside Buen Retiro other than some at the factory at Alcora, where a tin-glaze factory had been set up in 1727 by Don Buenaventura, Count of Aranda at Alcora, partly to benefit the local town and take apprentices from the schools. The demand for Meissen porcelain led it to commence the production of a semi porcelain, or wares out of fine pipe clay (tierra di pipa). The best modeller was Julian Lopez, (worked 1746-63) who modelled busts of negroes and other figures close to the work of Bustelli at Nymphenburg, whose contemporary he was (52). Otherwise its products were rather undistinguished, having a rather greyish cast to the body. Good quality faience was also produced in Portugal at Oporto (1766-1819) and Rato (1767-c.1814), mostly in the North Italian style (53). Portugal was also an important centre of tile production, much of it decorated with paintings after figurative prints.

The last outpost of the once great Holy Roman Empire were the Austrian Netherlands, which retained many local privileges. From 1741 it was governed by Charles of Lorraine, the brother-

in-law of the Empress Maria Theresa, for nearly forty years. He kept the country out of the Seven Years War and encouraged a policy of economic expansion and a distant approach from Vienna. A faience factory had been founded at Brussels by Phillipe Mombaers in 1724, using light-yellow clays from Tournai, which made a variety of tureens in the shape of animals, birds and vegetables. A rival factory set up by his son-in-law with the protection of the Empress Maria Theresa (54). The first porcelain factory was set up at Tournai in 1751 by Francois-Joseph Peterinck with the assistance of the city council and a licence from the Empress. Robert Dubois of the Chantilly and Vincennes factories was appointed director in 1753. The factory produced works in a modified rococo style, heavily dependent on French influences, but less ambitious in character, and in the medium of soft-paste. It produced many works using Sevres blue ground colours and was notable for its successful imitation of the Sevres biscuit figures. The chief painter was Henri-Joseph Duvivier (d.1771), who is said to have studied in England. It had access to fine Flemish sculptors in the persons of Nicolas Lecreux, Antoine Gillis (1702-82) and Joseph Willems (d.1766) who had formerly worked in England. The modeller Nicolas-Francois Gauron had probably worked at Mennecy and Vincennes, and was probably responsible for the ambitious biscuit group of 'The

Apotheosis of Charles d'Oultremont, Prince Bishop of Liege, commissioned by the town of Dinant in honour of the bishop's installation in 1764 (55). By 1770 Gauron had left Tournai and followed in the footsteps of his colleagues Willems and Duvivier and was offering his services in England (56).

The most independent country in Europe, Holland, was late in developing a porcelain factory, as it lacked a centralising Prince to control its economic activity, and the old faience industry (Delftware) continued healthy, increasingly adapting itself to the rococo style of the mid 18th century. A wide variety of smaller 'novelty' wares were made, many with a very high standard of decoration. The first porcelain factory in Holland was founded at Weesp in about 1757 near Amsterdam by three merchants, D.R. Muilman, Charles Fye and George Cruikshank (the latter two British) with the help of German workmen thrown out of work by the Seven Years War. It failed to make a profit and was bought in 1759 by Count Gronsfeldt-Diepenbroek, who made porcelain of a very high standard, mostly in Meissen style, some painted with Watteau scenes. The Tournai modeller Nicolas Gauron was recorded there in 1765. However, the factory failed to make a profit and in 1771 was sold on to Pastor Johannes de Mol, who transferred it to his impoverished parish of Oude Loosdrecht in

an effort to create work for the unemployed. The chemist Louis Victor Gerverot (1747-1829) came from Luneville, who had assisted in a number of great factories from Sevres to Frankenthal. Wares were made in the newly fashionable French taste. On the death of Mol in 1782 it was sold and moved to Amstel in 1784. By contrast, a rival factory at The Hague was founded by the German porcelain dealer Anton Lyncker (1718-81) in 1770s, but made few varieties; at one stage it seems to have painted Tournai porcelain (fig 20). It fell into debt and closed in 1790.

The story of porcelain on the European mainland is of continuous efforts and achievements which often came to grief in the face of war and competition from other countries. The secret of success for many lay in obtaining or retaining royal patronage, which supported the essentially uneconomic production of most factories, as well as creating a high standard of production. However, one country, England, lacked the strong central authority, but supported an abundance of talent and enterprise which saw the creation and maintenance of many factories in the face of often quite extensive difficulties. It is to these factories that we must turn, in order to gain a

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20) Jam pot and stand. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt at The Hague. Tournai, c.1780

deeper insight into the problems of manufacture and innovation of porcelain in the world of the rococo.

1.A.Fauchier-Magnan, The Small German Courts in the 18th Century, London, 1958, p.18

2.Fauchier-Magnan, op.cit., p.57

3.Fauchier-Magian, op.cit., p.26-7

4.Fauchier-Magnan, op.cit.,p.36

5.Fauchier-Magnan, op.cit., p.44

6.Fauchier-Magnan, op.cit., p.11



7. I went on Thursday to see the Chasse which was not far from hence. It was, I think, nothing but a kind of massacre of two or three hundred poor beasts, & had something in it quite shocking, especially when some of them ran about, as they did for some time, excessively wounded & mangl'd before they died. Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams from Leipzig in 1751. T.H.Clarke, 'Porcelain for a Pack of Hounds; A Meissen Service at Blenheim', Country Life, January 29th, 1987, p.78

8. Fauchier-Magnan, op.cit., pp.199-211

9. Now that porcelain is available, made here in the noble factory, of such quality and refinement that everyone recognizes it to be better and stronger than the wares of Frankfurt, it should be made known to the other towns and councils so that those who do business will come here. No foreign wares may be bought and sold, and must be confiscated if it appears. D.Imber, Collecting Delft, London, 1968, p.91

10. Imber, p.92

11. Imber, op.cit., p.93

12. G.Beard, Stucco and Decorative Plasterwork in Europe, London, 1983, p.113

13. see S.Ducret, Keramik und Graphik des 18. Jahrhunderts, Brunswick, 1973

14. quoted in J.Green, Consuming Passions, London, 1985, p.235

15. K.Berling, Meissen China: An Illustrated History, London, 1910, reprint 1972, pp.54-6

16. W.B.Honey, Dresden China, London, 1934, p.130

17. Meissen archive, V.9.55

18. M.Oppenheim. 'Das Porzellan' in Frankenthaler Porzellan, Frankenthal, 1955, p.10

19. R.Schmidt, Porcelain as an Art and a Mirror of Fashion, London, 1932, pp.135-8

20. Fauchier-Magnan, op.cit, p.34-5

21. Schimdt, op.cit., p.139

22. Schimdt, op.cit., p.142

23. M. Baur-Heinhold, Baroque Theatre, London, 1967, p.13

24. A vivid description of a Court festivity is given by Catherine II of Russia, herself a Princess of German extraction. It occurred in 1758 at the palace of the Oranienbaum in Russia, and was designed to titillate the jaded senses of her husband. She described in her memoirs thus: I therefore instructed my architect, Antonio Rinaldi, to build, in a distant corner of the wood, a great float which would hold an orchestra of sixty people, musicians and singers. I had verses written by the Italian court poet and music by the court musician Araja. In the garden, the main avenue was decorated with lights and a curtain was hung, facing the supper table...After the first course the curtain concealing the avenue was raised and we could see approaching from a distance the orchestra on its carriage pulled by a score of oxen, adorned with garlands, and escorted by as many dancers as I had been able to find. The avenue was so well lit that we could see everything clearly. When the float halted, by a happy chance, the light of the moon fell exactly upon it with such exquisite effect that the whole company was amazed...After [the music] had finished we heard fanfares and drumrolls, and a showman made his appearance, crying "Ladies and Gentlemen, roll up, roll up, you will find free lottery my booths!" On either side of the curtains two little curtains were raised and we saw two brightly lit stalls, in one of which they were giving away lottery tickets for the porcelain that it held, and in the other for flowers, ribbons, fans, combs, brushes, gloves, swordknobs, and other knick-knacks of that kind. When the stalls were empty we sat down to dessert, and then danced till six in the morning. Catherine II, Memoirs de l'Imperatrice Catherine II, ecrits par elle-meme, London, 1859, pp.292-3, quoted in Baur-Heinhold, op.cit., p.14

25. G. Schade, Berliner Porzellan, Leipzig, 1978, pp.109-110

26. TH Clarke, 'Johann Jacob Wolrab's engravings of characters from the commedia dell'arte, Nuremberg, c.1720, Keramik-Freunde der Schweiz, 104, October, 1989, pp.11-15

7) M. Newman, 'Die deutschen Porzellanmanufakturen im 18. Jashrhundert', Brunswick, 1, p.288

- 28.H.Reber, 'Johann Peter Melchior und die Kurmainzische Plastik seiner Zeit', Keramos, 119,88, pp.103-144
- 29.Newman, op.cit. 1, p.294
- 30.see catalogue by K.H.Esser and H.Reber, Hochster Fayencen und Porzellane, Mainz, 1964, no.152
- 31.G.Zick, Berliner Porzellan der Manufaktur von Wilhelm Caspar Wegely 1751-1757, Berlin, 1978
- 32.W.O.Henderson, Studies in the Economic Policy of Frederick the Great, London, 1963, pp.20-30
- 33.G.Schade, Berliner Porzellan, Berlin, 1978
- 34.Les presents qu'il faisait, soit au-dedans, soit au-dehors, etaient le plus souvent de la porcelaine de sa manufacture. E.Koellmann and M.Jarchow, Berliner Porzellan Munich, 1987, p.42
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- 36.S.Ducret, 'German Porcelain and Faience', Fribourg, 1962, p.47
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## Chapter 9: Porcelain in 18th Century Britain

Britain in the 18th century was fast on her way to becoming the powerful and dominating world power that she became in the 19th century. The population of Britain was, at about five to six million in the mid century, only about a third of that of France, yet Britain defeated its great rival on two occasions in the 18th century: in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13) and the Seven Years War (1756-63), gaining on both occasions substantial overseas territorial possessions. English exports doubled in value, and agricultural and industrial production rose by 60%. Much of this wealth went straight into the hands of the old aristocracy, who had dominated the political scene in England since the accession of George I in 1714, yet much also found its way down the social scale, buttressing the position of the professional and merchant classes (1). Visitors from abroad commented on the "luxury" of the times; especial comment was centred on the wealth of what we would now call the middle-class, whose luxury and extravagance had "risen to such a pitch as never before seen in the world" (2). Furthermore, their life style was imitated in turn by the labouring and servant classes, which led to an increased demand for goods. This tendency for wealth to descend the social scale was noticed by foreign visitors and the general ownership of goods amongst all classes has led to this century being christened "the birth of a consumer society" by some modern historians (3). These conditions led to a boom in

the ownership of household objects throughout Britain (4), with a consequent growth and stimulus to the decorative arts.

Economic writers in 18th century England shared many of the concerns of their contemporaries abroad, stressing the need to stimulate industry, both to create wealth and to mop up the unruly hoards of unemployed that posed such a threat to public order. However, they did not necessarily share the obsession of mercantilism with tariffs on imports and indeed the writings of Adam Smith (1723-90), which tended to favour a free market with a lack of state intervention, date from this time. Britain lacked the strong central authority that the centralized monarchies of the rest of Europe possessed, for although the King possessed great powers by way of influence and preferment, he was ultimately not able to dictate the country's growth and direction in the way of a continental monarch such as the King of France. Both church and State colluded in a kind of laissez-faire economic policy which left British manufacturers to cope as well as they could in competition with their subsidized European competitors.

There did exist certain organizations, however, which attempted to raise the standards of British industry throughout the 18th century. The most famous was The Society of Arts, which was a forum for the discussion of new technology in the industrial arts, and offered encouragement in the way of prizes,

and scholarships for gifted designers (5). A major concern was the textile industry, which was the major form of luxury spending of the time, and the cause of many imports from France. Another interest was the porcelain industry; although Britain had been a major ceramics producer for some years, this had been in the form of pottery rather than porcelain, and until mid century Britain was dependent on imports of porcelain from China, or France and Germany in Europe.

The most fashionable types of porcelain in Britain - the sort preferred by the aristocracy - were those from Meissen and Sevres. For these there existed a steady market, although imports were restricted by wars and prohibitive customs duties. The taste was frequently stimulated by the use of porcelain as diplomatic gifts from the producing country, such as the magnificent Meissen service presented to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the British envoy at Dresden in the years 1747-50 and 1751-55 by Augustus III of Saxony (6), or the great Sevres service given to the Duke of Bedford by Louis XV after the Treaty of Paris of 1763 (7). The richly-coloured and gilded porcelain from Sevres was the preferred porcelain for the very rich by the 1760s, and virtually every wealthy British visitor to Paris seems to have come back with some decorative piece (8). The Reverend William Cole recorded in his travel diary that his friend Horace Walpole, son of the former Prime Minister and an important arbiter of taste in his own right, spent the enormous sum of 10 Louis or guineas on a



single Sevres coffee cup and saucer in Paris in 1765 (9). It was also possible to order Sevres porcelain in London via a Parisian dealer, as when the fashionable hostess Lady Melbourne ordered a dessert service after her marriage in 1769 (10). The only deterrent to this rage for Continental porcelain seems to have been high customs duties, which reached 150% in 1775. One of the first to be hit seems to have been Horace Walpole, who returned to England in that year with some French porcelain and complained that he had to pay '7 1/2 guineas for a common set of coffee things that had cost me five' (11). The tax actually led to several aristocrats, including the 3rd Earl of Egremont (12) and Lady Clermont, cancelling orders of Sevres porcelain (13). The duties were only repealed with the coming of peace in 1763.

Another factor in the appreciation of Continental ceramics was the collecting of ceramics for themselves, a development of the 'chinamania' of the late 17th century. 'China-closets' continued to be in fashion, and, following the taste of Mary II, china cabinets were often associated with women. 'China vessels are playthings for women of all ages' wrote Addison in 1714 (14). Famous china cabinets were established by Lady Betty Germaine at Drayton, 'crammed with old china' as Walpole described it on his visit in 1763 (15), and the Countess of Suffolk in the gardens of her villa at Marble Hill in Twickenham on the banks of the river Thames. The Duchess of Portland, according to Walpole, 'inherited the Passion of her Family for Collecting. At first her Taste was



chiefly confined to Shells, Japan & Old China, particularly of the blue & white with a brown Edge, of which she formed a large closet at Bulstrode; but contenting herself with one specimen of every pattern she could get, it was a collection of 'odd pieces' (16). However, there also began a certain interest in the collecting of historic ceramics, best demonstrated by the collections of Andrew Fountaine at Narford Hall and Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill (17), where the centrepiece of the china room was the Saint Porchaire ewer now in Edinburgh, which was then attributed to Giulio Romano.

It was also in this age that porcelain 'escaped' from the china room or china closet and became a general means of furnishing a room, especially the drawing-room, which was seen as a feminine preserve. One fashion was to incorporate it into pieces of furniture, such as girandoles and chimney-pieces: Benjamin Goodison was paid for '4 carved and gilt ornaments over the chimney with branches to dLittle. to hold china -L30 between 1734 and 1740 (18). Chippendale's The Gentleman & Cabinet-Maker's Director of 1752 illustrated a 'China case' [china cabinet] and in 1762 a set of hanging 'Shelves for China'. By the mid century, the porcelain figures intended for the dessert became to be valued for themselves and began to appear as decoration on the chimney-piece (19). The most valued items of china for furnishing were large porcelain jars which stood in the corner of rooms or long galleries; these were of Chinese

manufacture, as only the crude Chinese hard-paste was suitable for making such large objects.

Those that could not afford Meissen or Sevres porcelain for everyday use made do with Chinese export porcelain, which was used by the lesser aristocracy and the gentry. The British imported Chinese porcelain directly via the English East India Company which had been set up in the 17th century to wrest the trade from the Dutch. As early as 1694 the ship the "Dorothy" imported a wide range of Eastern goods, including lacquer, china, tea and fans (20). Many of these first imports consisted of utensils for tea-drinking, and it is in the 18th century that this became a national habit. Tea consumption rose from 1,493,626 lb in 1728 to 3,762,800 lb in 1767 (21). The fashion was closely linked to porcelain, and "chinamen" (dealers in china) often sold tea as well (22). Demand was enormous and in 1776 the East India Company sold 168,000 blue-and-white cups and saucers and 35,000 dinner plates, while a whole teaset cost only about 12/-. The Frenchman De La Rochefoucauld, who visited England in 1784, wrote that Through the whole of England the drinking of tea is general, You have it twice a day, and though the expense is considerable, the humblest peasant has his tea twice a day just like the rich man; the total consumption is immense. The high cost of sugar or molasses, of which large quantities are required, does not prevent this custom being a universal one, to which there are no exceptions (23). An anonymous English portrait of about 1720

shows a family proudly at tea, mostly with silver utensils, but tea bowls and saucer of Eastern porcelain (fig 1).

Chinese porcelain was used not only for tea-drinking but also for large dinner services, a fashion which grew in the 18th century. By 1777-8 England was importing 348 tons of chinaware, in contrast to Holland (111 tons), France (100 tons), Sweden (99 tons), and Denmark (39 tons) (24). Visitors from abroad noted that the British preferred to use porcelain (presumably Chinese) rather than metal on the dinner table (25), though the grandest of the aristocracy a display of plate at dinner was still desirable (26). As time went on, English buyers began to insist on conditions relating to the colour and the fineness of the Chinese porcelain (27). Dinner services were frequently decorated with the owner's coat-of-arms, the so-called armorial porcelain, which grew very popular after about 1730. A print or drawing with the owner's coat-of-arms would be sent to China, where it would be copied in enamel with absolute fidelity in the centre of the dishes; the borders remained decorated in the Chinese taste, and can generally be dated to within two or three years by their design. The most famous service is that made for the Okeover family, whose original design of 1738 survives; a total of at least 120 plates and 34 dishes were delivered in 1740-43, at the

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1. Anonymous English, c.1720. A family at Tea. Goldsmiths' Hall, London

high cost of (1 a plate (fig 2,3) (28). Occasionally mistakes occurred; the unfortunate customer who wrote this is my coat-of-arms on his bookplate must have been dismayed to find the inscription carefully copied on the entire service of porcelain!

However, despite the ever present competition from the Continent and the East, there arose in England a large number of privately owned and financed factories that made porcelain to the taste of the upper and the middle classes. They were not the great State subsidized ventures that obtained on the Continent, which were supported by the Crown and had access to Court designers and artists. In Britain they took the form of commercial ventures masterminded by groups of private citizens with the risk - which frequently occurred - of going bankrupt. Of the seven or eight major porcelain factories set up in 18th century England, only one, that of Worcester, was to survive with an unbroken history into the present day. Consequently we possess no complete set of records for the firms, as was often the case with the state owned factories on the Continent, and the history of many British factories is a matter of conjecture and reconstruction. They virtually all produced soft-paste porcelain of varying quality and their chief interest lies in their

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2) Design for a plate sent by Leake Okeover of Derbyshire to China in 1738. 22.8cm

3) Plate with the coat-of-arms of Leake and Mary Okeover, sent to England in 1740 or 1743. Chinese (Jingdezhen), hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Diameter 22.8 cm (9in)

technical and artistic development through the century (29).

Successful experiments in the manufacture of porcelain seem to have taken place as early as 1743, a Mr. Bryand showed the Society of Arts fine white ware which when broken appears like broken sugar. The first functioning porcelain factory set up on British soil appears to have been that at Bow (really Stratford) in East London, set up by Edward Heyleyn and the engraver Thomas Frye, which they claimed would save large sums of money that were yearly paid to the Chinese and the Saxons (30). This factory made at first rather crude enamelled and blue-and-white porcelain of a decidedly provincial character in the manner of routine Chinese export wares, as its name, New Canton, suggests. The paste is rather thick and distinguished by the addition of bone ash as a strengthening material, a substance which was to become the ingredient of the later bone china made in Staffordshire. Daniel Defoe visited the factory in 1748, and wrote that They have already made large quantities of tea-cups, saucers etc., which by some skilful persons are said to be little inferior to those brought from China (31). Although the bulk of its production were tea-wares, but it did produce a number of figures, some copied from Meissen. To Bow lies the honour of having produced the earliest porcelain figures made in an English factory. These are the figures of the actor Henry Woodward and the actress Kitty Clive as the 'Fine Gentleman' and 'Fine Lady' in David Garrick's farce Lethe of about 1750, which are based on prints after James

McArdell and Charles Mosley respectively (fig 4). In the later 1750s and 1760s Bow began producing porcelain in the lavishly decorated manner of Sevres, but in a noticeably heavier paste, and without any real feeling of quality in its products. It closed in about 1776 when it was taken over by William Duesbury of the Derby factory.

A more artistically ambitious factory was set up in about 1744 in Chelsea in west London by the French Huguenot goldsmith Nicholas Sprimont (32). Sprimont was an accomplished goldsmith who made silver articles for the aristocracy and the Prince of Wales, and certain early models owe a clear debt to silver prototypes, such as the 'goat-and-bee' jug of about 1745 (fig 5). This has goat supporters similar to Sprimont's silver Ashburnham centrepiece of 1747 in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The famous crayfish salt of about the same date (fig 6) is based on the silver-gilt salts of 1743-5 made for Frederick, Prince of Wales, which still survive in the Royal Collection (fig 7). There exist

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4) Figures of Henry Woodward and Kitty Clive in Garrick's farce Lethe. Soft-paste porcelain. Height 27cm. Bow, c.1750. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

5) 'Goat-and-bee' jug. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Height 11.5cm. Chelsea, c.1745. Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire

6) Crayfish salt. Porcelain, painted in enamel colours, possibly in the workshop of William Duesbury. Width 12.5cm. Chelsea, c.1745-9

7) Crayfish salt. Silver gilt, width 12.7cm. London, Nicholas Sprimont, hallmarked for 1742-3. The Royal Collection, London

also a certain number of plates and platters with borders which are clearly dependent on a silver prototype by Sprimont, as evinced by the saucer-boat and saucer of 1746-7 in the Katz collection in Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (fig 8) (33). These early wares are sometimes marked with an incised anchor. Figures are rare, but a rival factory, now identified as located in St. James Street (34), made a range of scent bottles and figures, most famously representing a girl in a swing, from which it takes its name.

During the 'red anchor' period of 1752-5, so-called after the mark in red enamel, Chelsea produced a range of beautiful soft-paste wares, delicately painted with patterns in the Japanese Kakiemon style, or sprays of flowers in the manner of Meissen. Some pieces are decorated with beautifully painted pieces with landscapes close to those of Vincennes, re-inforcing the French influence (35). One style of decoration which was a home invention are wares painted with 'fable' decoration after Aesop, which seem to have been painted by the painter Jefferyes Hamett O'Neale, who later painted at Worcester (36). Also copied were figures of birds copied from George Edwards History of Uncommon Birds, vols 1 and 2 of 1743 and 47. A peculiarity of these early pieces is that many of these have a certain amount of

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8) Plate with moulded border. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Diameter 23cm. Chelsea (the decoration attributed to Jefferyes Hamett O'Neale), c.1753. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

tin in the glaze, to give them a milky whiteness, as at Chantilly in France.

Although Sprimont never gained a public subsidy, he did succeed in gaining the good will and patronage of the King's son, the Duke of Cumberland, who used his influence to further the factory's interests. The Duke of Cumberland's secretary, Sir Everard Fawkener, contacted the former British ambassador from Dresden, Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams, in 1751, with a request to borrow some of his Meissen porcelain for the Chelsea factory to copy. This transaction is of especial interest as we possess some of the correspondence relating to it, which throws much light on the workings of an 18th century porcelain factory. Sir Everard wrote expressing thanks on the 12th August, 1751: I found on my return to Town that many imitations are made, as well in some forms as in paintings. This is of the greatest consequence to this new manufacture, as that of Dresden has not only the advantage of a longer Establishment, & of all the support of a Royal expense, by wh[ic]h a number of the best artists in the way they want are drawn thither, but there exists at Dresden the greatest collection of old china in Europe, from whence many excellent patterns are to be had....I have been desired to move you for a further favor in the behalf of this new manufacturer, when I should return thanks for that advantage let them know the prices at the Whare houses of the Royal Manufacture of the several things you have indulged them with the sight & use



of...they would have such a price for their ware as to re-imburse them & leave some advantage...they met with good encouragement last spring, tho' they had little but separate Pieces to sell, except Tea and Coffee services. They propose opening a Whare house in town by the King's birthday, when there will be a large quantity of dishes, plates, etc, for table & desert services (37). It has recently been shown that Chelsea copied details from the plates of the Meissen service, most notably the plate with the rhinoceros, and also a number of animal finials as separate figures (38). This was in addition to a large number of figure models copied directly from Meissen, most notably the famous 'Monkey Band'.

Chelsea however found its own figure style in the work of the sculptor Joseph Willems (1712-1766) from the Low Countries. He may have been in England as early as 1749, as two terracotta figures of a shepherd and shepherdess in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, are signed by him and dated to that year (39). They are somewhat ponderous in design, and give no hint of the vivacity and variety of his work in porcelain. He seems to be the modeller of a whole group of Chelsea figures, from individual figures of the 'Seasons' through to ambitious groups such as the Maypole dancers and the group of Roman Charity, based on a print after Rubens. He presumably also modelled the group of the Deposition based on a painting by Van Dyck; Willems returned to Tournai for six months before his death in 1766, and significantly this group

appears in Tournai biscuit porcelain just after that date.

Figure groups and vases of the 1760s are often exceptionally elaborate, with rich colouring and gilding, and sometimes marked with an anchor in gold (the so-called 'gold-anchor' period'). The most famous groups are The Music-lesson and the Dancing-lesson based on engravings after the French painter Francois Boucher; they bear an elaborate background of leaves (bocage), indicating that they are clearly intended for mantelpiece rather than dessert decoration (fig 9). Chelsea by now was increasingly under the influence of developments at Sevres, and sought to rival the great French factory, with the development of rich ground colours - blue, crimson, and pea-green, often framing a central panel of birds or pastoral scenes with much gilding. The most notable examples are the rich flamboyant vases presented to the British Museum and the Foundling Hospital in 1763, painted with scenes after Classical art of Francois Boucher, and a group of seven elaborately moulded vases known as the 'Dudley vases' after a former owner. An especially ambitious attempt to rival Sevres was the great dinner-service prepared for the Queen's brother, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (now in the Royal Collection), which has the full complement of tureens, candlesticks, plates and a centrepiece in the flamboyant rococo style of the mid century

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9) Group of The Music Lesson. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 46cm. Chelsea, c.1760. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

(fig 10). However, it can hardly bear comparison with the refined and elegant Sevres shapes devised by Duplessis. The writer Horace Walpole, who saw it on March 3rd, 1763, wrote to his friend Sir Horace Mann with much justified criticism: There are dishes and plates without number, an epergne, candlesticks, salt-cellars, sauce-boats, tea and coffee equipages - in short, it is complete - and cost twelve hundred pounds! I cannot boast of our taste; the forms are neither new, beautiful nor various. Yet Sprimont, the manufacturer, is a Frenchman; it seems their taste will not bear transplanting (40).

Dinner services are comparatively rare in English porcelain, at least until the end of the century. This may be due to a certain technical inability, as soft-paste is a difficult body to handle, and may have created difficulty in the making of the large tureens so popular on the Continent. However, the olio or mixed meat and vegetable stew was almost unknown in Britain and referred to with derision in contemporary accounts (41). It is thus rare to find the great tureens and covered broth-bowls which are so characteristic of Continental porcelain, except in factories like Chelsea which imitated continental forms, as the English did not share the same enthusiasm for stews and bouillon, preferring a roast joint of meat (42). This was noticed by a French visitor, Francois De La Rochefoucauld, in 1784, who

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10) Tureen, cover and stand. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height of tureen 23.7cm. Chelsea, c.1763. New Campbell Museum, New Jersey

remarked on their custom of dining at 4 o'clock, and the great joints of meat eaten (43). As in France, dinner was followed by dessert for which Mrs. Glasse, in The Compleat Confectioner (1760) included recipes for blancmange, syllabubs, ice-cream, dried cherries, trifle and compotes (44). Over twenty years later De La Rochefoucauld was to comment that after the removal of the cloth, the table is covered with all kinds of wine, or gentlemen of modest means always keep a large stock of good wine. On the middle of the table there is a small quantity of fruit, a few biscuits (to stimulate thirst), and some butter, for many English people take it at dessert (45). It would appear that fresh fruit had gained ground over sweets since Mrs. Glasse wrote in 1760, and the butter was perhaps a substitute for ice-cream, so popular in France. As we have seen, dessert services were often made of porcelain, and Chelsea made a full range in the shapes of leaves or fruit in the Meissen manner.

Many of the larger elaborate wares are traceable in the auction catalogues of the time. Porcelain factories seem to have sold their wares through a variety of outlets, including their own showroom or warehouse in central London, through a specialist dealer or 'chinaman', or through an annual auction sale where the best of the factory's products was put up for auction, much being acquired by the aforesaid 'chinamen'. Some of these chinadealers seem to have had a tenuous foothold on the fringes of fashionable society, such as Mrs Chenevix and her sister Mrs.

Betrand, to whom Horace Walpole showed his cabinet of enamels in 1749 (46). A good idea of the wide range of their products can be found in the sale catalogue of the most prominent member of their number, the London dealer Thomas Morgan, whose sale catalogue of March, 1772 lists a "Great Variety of the most beautiful SEVE, CHANTILLY, TOURNAY, and SAXON Porcelain...A Superb Collection of the very rare old blue and coloured Japan with the Brown Edge..Roman Earthenware..Together his large Stock of India and Japan China, both useful and Ornamental." It is only at the end of the description that we encounter "Great choice of Chelsea, Derby and Worcester Porcelaine" along with "lacquered ware, Pearl Beads, Fish and Counters, India Mats and Prints, with many Oriental and other Curiosities(47)."

"Chinamen" were not confined to London. They were found throughout the larger provincial towns; in fact, anywhere where a surplus of disposable income allowed a middle-class to flourish and indulge in purchasing porcelain, although the staple commodity was more likely to be the tough and durable Chinese porcelain imported via the East India Company. The Norwich Chronicle for July, 1783, ran the following advertisement from William Beloe, Chinaman, Market Place, Norwich: - Has just received from the India Company's sale a large and regular assortment of useful and ornamental china.....He has also a large parcel of useful china from Commodore Johnstone's Prize Goods taken from the Dutch [a reference to goods taken in sea-

battle]' (48).

The experiments at Chelsea in the rococo style was seldom followed with such enthusiasm by other factories. An exception of the factory at Longton Hall in Staffordshire, which was set up by William Jenkinson in about 1750, and joined by the better known William Littler in 1751. Although the paste of this factory is distinctly heavy, it did succeed in making a wide variety of tureens and teapots based on naturalistic forms, such as lettuce leaves or cabbages, in the manner first seen at Meissen and Chelsea, as well as figures with tree- or flower-ornament (fig 11). The factory seems to have run into difficulties by 1760 and transferred to the Scottish site of West Pans, near Musselburgh, by 1764.

A more significant rival to Chelsea was the factory set up at Derby in about 1750 by the French goldsmith, Andre Planche. At first the factory seems to have specialized in porcelain figures for the dessert, and created a wide range of models, including a group of fashionably dressed ladies and gentlemen representing the 'Senses', and important models of Chinese figures in lively rococo style (fig 12). A number of the original moulds have

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11) Tureen in the form of a melon. Soft--paste porcelain painted in enamel colours. Height 15.5cm. Longton Hall, c.1756. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

12) Chinese group representing Hearing, from a set of the Five Senses. Porcelain, height 20.3cm. Derby, c.1752-5

recently been rediscovered, and suggest the work of a number of different artists (49). The factory was taken over by the London china dealer, William Duesbury, in about 1756; in that year it advertised for sale at auction A curious collection of fine figures, jars, sauceboats, services for deserts [sic], and a great variety of other useful and ornamental porcelains after the finest Dresden models, all exquisitely painted and enamelled with flowers, insects, India plants, & c.. It was again advertised Derby, or the second Dresden in 1757 (50). Its figures are usually unmarked, but distinguished by three patch marks on the base, where the figure was supported during the firing.

The factory at Worcester, set up by Dr. Wall and others in 1751, also produced some important decorative wares in the manner of the great Continental factories, including a group of large vases with painted reserves by Jeffrey Hammet O'Neale or the Scottish miniaturist, John Donaldson. However the factory is better known for its smaller items, such as tea-wares, made for the middling class. The limited nature of much English porcelain was a source of contemporary discontent and a commentator in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1763, wrote that although its products did not discolour or crack, 'But this excellence is confined to comparatively few articles. The tea-table indeed it completely furnishes, and some of it so well enamelled as to resemble the finest foreign china, so that it makes up costly sets that are broken, without a perceptible difference. But, from whatever

cause, this manufacture has never yet found its way to the dining table except in sauce-boats, toys for pickles, and hors d'oeuvres' (51). The most expensive of these smaller wares were painted with sprays of flowers against rich ground colours of pink, blue, green and yellow, with much gilding in the manner of Sevres or Meissen.

The majority of pieces made at Worcester were decorated not with hand painting in coloured enamels, but with small line engravings, similar to the technique used for producing copper engravings for book illustration. In this process a 'pull' is taken from the inked plate onto tissue paper, which is then transferred onto the body of the object and the decoration fired on. The technique, arguably Britain's most important contribution to the history of ceramic decoration, first seems to have been developed at the Battersea enamel works, run by three entrepreneurs, Messrs. Janssen, Delamain, and Brooks, in 1753-6; 'Delamain' is presumably Henry Delamain of the Dublin delftware factory, who claimed 'that he had purchased the art of printing earthenware with as much beauty, strong impression and despatch as can be done on paper' (52). The technique first seems to first appear on British porcelain on some pieces from the Bow factory of about 1756 (53).

Most of the prints used in transfer-printing on porcelain seem to have been engraved by the engraver Robert Hancock



(1729/30-1817), who moved to the Worcester factory from Bow in about 1756. Stylistically, Hancock's influences are almost wholly French, as he made considerable use of engravings by such French artists and engravers such as Gravelot, Vivares, L.P. Boitard, C.N. Cochin, Chardin and Nicolas de Larmessin. The French influence in English design had been re-inforced by the arrival of such immigrant engravers as Hubert Gravelot (1699-1773), who arrived in London in 1732 'with a great fruitfull (sic) genius for desseins inventions of history and ornaments' (54), and seemed to have set up an academy in St. Martin's Lane, the chief meeting place of English rococo artists, including the portrait painter Thomas Gainsborough (55). Prints works were freely available on the London market through the medium of such print sellers as Robert Sayer of Fleet Street, who is perhaps best known for his collection of ornamental engravings published together as The Ladies Amusement, or, whole Art of Jappahning made Easy (56). The publication includes engravings of flowers, birds, insects, ships, figures after Watteau, 'chinoiseries' after the French designer Jean Pillement (1728-1808), landscapes and garden buildings in the Chinese taste. Details from the book have been traced on the porcelain of Chelsea, Bow and Worcester. Sayer's seems to have been one of the largest print-sellers in 18th century London and many of his prints were lettered with inscriptions both in English and French, indicating a strong export market. His stock was extensive enough for a complete catalogue to be issued in 1772.

These prints were in great demand by the outside enamelling workshops, the equivalent of the German Hausmaler. Such workshops were located in the great metropolises and used Eastern or European porcelains as a base, firing the decoration on in their own "muffle" kilns. They had a flexibility in the choice of decoration that was difficult for the larger factories, and were often the first to introduce novel or fashionable forms of decoration, as well as copying existing pieces to make up sets. An advertisement in the Leeds Intelligencer, 25th October, 1760, reads: "Robinson and Rhodes, opposite the George in Briggate, enamel and burn in gold and colour foreign and English china and tea-ware and make them complete to any pattern required - either Indian [i.e. Eastern] or Dresden. They also enamel coats of arms etc, and sell a good assortment of foreign china" (57). Similarly, in Aris's Birmingham Gazette, 23rd September, 1751, we read: Abraham Seaman, enamel painter, at Mrs. Weston's in Freeman, St. Birmingham, makes and sells all sorts of enamelling colours, especially the ROSE colours [presumably for 'famille rose'], likewise all sorts for China painters' (58).

Some of these independent decorators were to have an enormous influence on the decoration of English porcelain, since they were directly in touch with the London market and changes of taste in the metropolis, which led the way for the rest of Britain. We have already seen that the decorator William Duesbury

was took over the Derby factory in 1756. The best-known workshop is that of James Giles in London. He was active in London from 1756 to 1776, when his business appears to have failed. His ledger survives for the period 1771-76, and records purchases by the nobility and gentry (59). He seems to have acted as the representative for Worcester, and used their blanks for decoration, to that extent that it is often very difficult to know what was decorated at Worcester and what was decorated in London. Some plates given by his descendants to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1935 give the best clues to his style, and show painted landscapes in the centre, or depictions of game (fig 13) whilst another shows cut-fruit in the centre surrounded by a Meissen type mosaic pattern (60).

However, the vast majority of everyday porcelain made in Britain in the mid 18th century continued to be in an Eastern style, reflecting the continuing imports of china from the East, with especial emphasis on the use of underglaze blue, the cheapest form of coloured decoration. Apart from Worcester, the main centres of production were Liverpool and Lowestoft on the Norfolk coast, which all made Oriental-style wares of medium quality. There were a number of different factories at Liverpool, of which the first was run by the William Chaffers and Philip

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13) Plate painted with a central scene of game birds. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Diameter 22.5cm. Worcester, painted in the workshop of James Giles, c.1765. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Christian in the years 1756 to 1776. It made a soft-paste porcelain with the addition of soapstone, a body close to that at Worcester. Its early wares are mostly painted in blue-and-white in a manner very close to that of the delftware painters who flourished in the city. A second factory was founded by Seth Pennington and John Part, and made use of transfer-printing to produce a wide range of tea- and other useful wares in a style very close to that of Worcester. Other factories making similar products were run by Samuel Gilbody and William Reid. Wares of similar quality and style were made by the factory at Lowestoft on the coast of East Anglia, which also made a wide range of wares enamelled in the Chinese manner. In addition there were short-lived factories at Vauxhall and Limehouse in London, Newcastle-under-Lyne and Reid and Baddeley at Staffordshire, which are only recently being discovered through excavation.

Most larger wares, such as tureens, meat-plates and dinner plates, continued to be of imported porcelain, especially Chinese, which was considerably cheaper than that of Meissen or Sevres. This was made according to English specifications and by mid century the composition of a standard Chinese dinner service could be described thus: two tureens, cover and stands, thirteen dishes of various sizes, sixty dinner plates, twenty four soup plates, eight salad dishes, one salad bowl, two sauce boats, and four salts (61). Increasingly many of these dinner services were

painted in simple underglaze blue, which the London market christened "Nankin" or "Nankeen" after the Chinese port through which they were thought to have been exported. Motifs on these wares included quaint Chinese motifs so beloved by Europeans, including fishermen, trees, temples on islands and stylized flowers. The vast mass of these goods were sold by the East India Company at auctions held twice yearly at their warehouses, the main purchasers being the professional china-dealers or "chinamen". There seems to have been a diminution in trade in 1779, but in 1781 the Company ordered 1200 chests of chinaware, the patterns to be new (62). As the century progressed, the desire to have items all of one pattern increased, and in 1782 the Directors of the London end were complaining that "goods have come of a variety of patterns, where they should all have been alike, particularly in Table and other sets - in some cases there have been so many patterns and so very different from each other that they could not possibly be put up to Sale in Sets, but have been obliged to be sold as odd pieces" (63).

Naturally factories in Britain were keen to fill the demand for dinner-wares on a large scale, but with little success until the activities of Thomas Turner of the Caughley factory in Shropshire, which was set up in about 1772. He made a wide range of middling wares in transfer-printed blue-and-white very similar to those at Worcester, using similar or identical prints, and in particular for the development of two Chinese-style patterns,

the "Fisherman" patterns (fig 14), showing a Chinese fisherman at work, and the "Broseley" pattern, featuring a willow tree and island and bridge (fig 15), which is the basis of the modern "Willow" pattern, which term was in use by 1799 (64). The original copper plates survive and pull shows the characteristic pagodas and willows, although at first without the bridge. Production of dinner-services developed rapidly and by July 1794 the following dinner service was sold by Caughley: "A fine oval Nankin table service of the fine Willow landscape, and dagger border, containing 18 long dishes in 6 sizes, 72 table plates, 24 soup plates, 24 dessert plates, 2 large tureens and dishes, 2 small ditto, 4 sauce boats, 4 stands, 2 large salad vessels and 6 pudding dishes. #33.12.0d (65). In the period 1795-97 the factory shifted from the production of soft-paste soapstone porcelain, of the kind manufactured at Worcester, to a hybrid hard-paste type, which was suitable for larger items. However, Caughley porcelain still seems to have been more expensive than Chinese; in August 1790 Joseph Lygo, the London Derby representative, wrote to observing that 'chamber pots they have none, they have not made any for some time and the reason is foreign Nankin ones are so much cheaper than theirs' (66).

However, Lygo had already noticed that in 1788 only 500 of

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14) Pull from the copper-plate with the "Fisherman" pattern. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

15) Pull from the copper-plate with an early version of the "Willow" pattern. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

the 1800 crates of imported chinaware had been sold. Towards the end of the 18th century, the East India company's trade in porcelain began to lose its profitability. This was probably due to rivalry with Staffordshire pottery, and also machinations amongst the London china dealers, who combined to form a 'ring' (an agreement not to bid against each other) at auctions, leading to loss of profit for the Company itself. The beginning of the end seem to have come about 1779. On the 21st January of that year the Council of Supracargoes in Canton wrote to the directors in the London that 'the order this year received from the Honble. Court give us reason to suppose that China ware is not now an article in so high demand as some past'; no new china was ordered in 1779-80, though new designs were ordered in for the 1781-82 season (67). However, in October 1788 Joseph Lygo wrote to William Duesbury of Derby that 'In the India House sale this week I am informed out of more than eighteen hundred lots there was not five hundred sold' and trade was 'very dead'. This was no doubt due in part to customs duties of over 50% on imports (to be raised to #109.8.6d per #100 in 1799).

The end for the once-great Chinese porcelain trade came in December 1791, when the Court of Directors gave orders that no china should be imported except as 'flooring' (ballast), and they had taken legal action against the London chinamen for forming a 'ring'. This naturally upset the London china dealers, and the chinaman Miles Mason wrote to the Directors in April 1795 on

behalf of the London dealers to learn on what terms of freight the Company will allow their officers 'to import china ware' (68), that is, as private trade. Mason presumably received a negative response, and he re-appears in ceramic history as the manufacturer of British blue-and-white porcelain advertised in 1604 'British Nankin', not in London, but in the county of Staffordshire, a part of Britain which had become the major ceramics manufacturer in the whole world. It is to developments in Staffordshire that we must now turn.



1. "For a tiny minority of peers and landed magnates this expansion meant unprecedented wealth; but the middling classes and some of the more fortunate artisans and workers may also have enjoyed a higher standard of living and more spare cash in this period than ever before". L.Colley in ed. M.Shodin Rococo; Art and Design in Hogarth's England, London, 1984, p.10

2. ibid. p.10

3. "the later eighteenth century saw such a convulsion of getting and spending, such an eruption of new prosperity, that a greater proportion of the population than in any previous society in human history was able to enjoy the pleasures of buying consumer goods". N.McKendrick in The Birth of a Consumer Society, London, 1982, p.9

4. see L.Weatherill, Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760, London, 1988

5. D.G.Callan, William Shipley; Founder of the Royal Society of Arts, London, 1968

6. T.H.Clarke in G.Jackson-Stops, The Treasure Houses of Britain, Washington, 1985, No.389

7. Another service given to William Eden after the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between France and Britain in 1787. ed. G.Jackson-Stops 'The Treasure Houses of Britain' Washington, 1985, No.399

8. Lord Bolingbroke bought a Sevres 'surtout de table' from the dealer Lazare Duvaux just before the Seven Years War in 1756. S.Eriksen 'Rare Pieces of Vincennes and Sevres Porcelain' Apollo, LXXXVII, January, 1968, pp.34-8; The Duke of Richmond bought a garniture of three very expensive vases in the latest Neo-Classical taste on his visit to the factory on the 12th November, 1765, and ordered a dinner service costing five hundred pounds. R.Savill in G.Jackson-Stops, 'The Treasures Houses of Britain', Washington, 1985, No.409;

9. Cole himself could only afford six cups and saucers at "9 livres each cup & Saucer, the whole 54 livres...for the Seat, with a neat Sugar Dish & Cover at 12 Livres" or "a single Coffe Cup & Saucer of the enamelled Chantilly manufactured China for which I gave 12 Livres, or about half a Guinea". W. Cole, A Journal of my Journey to Paris in the year 1765, London, 1931, pp.232-3, 245. A less wealthy traveller in France, Philip Thicknesse, visited the factory at Saint Cloud (probably meaning Sevres) in 1766, where "the cheapest thing I could find was a small sallad bowl (sic), which, however, cost me a guinea; here I was

shewn three small pieces of ornamental china for a chimney piece, that came to a thousand livres', quoted in B. Hillier, *Pottery and Porcelain 1700-1914*, London, 1968, p.202

10. it comprised eighty pieces at a cost of 5,197 livres 19 sous and was delivered to Lord Melbourne's Paris agent on 20th March, 1771. R.Savill in G.Jackson-Stops, *op.cit.*, 1985, No.411

11. The Letters of Horace Walpole, Cunningham Edition, Vol.VI, p.268

12. He cancelled an order for a Sevres dinner service from the Parisian dealer Sayle. R.Savill in G. Jackson-Stops, *op.cit.*, No.402

13. She returned a biscuit figure of L'Amour Falconet to the Sevres factory. R.Savill, *'The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Sevres Porcelain*, London, 1988, p.825

14. B.Hillier, *'Pottery and Porcelain 1700-1914'*, London, 1968, p.267

15. B.Hillier, *op. cit.*, p.270

16. A blue and white Japanese dish in the collection of the Early of Ilchester, bears the following label; 'Plate bid for at a sale and obtained by Elisabeth Countess of Ilchester, for #100 against the Duchess of Portland, which was carefully put away when the Duchess visited her for fear of recalling the fact'. B.Hillier, *op. cit.* p.281.

17. As early as 1710 Jonathan Swift "sauntered at China-shops" with the antiquary and collector Sir Andrew Fountaine B.Hillier, *op.cit.*, p.202

18. R.J.Charleston *'Porcelain as room decoration in eighteenth-century England'*, Antiques, December, 1969, pp.894-8

19. G.Lang, European Ceramics from Burghley House, 1991, p.30-31

20. "china ware of all the variety that can be got in the Country, both fine and coarse, particularly a quantity of fine teapots, blew and white, purple and white, red and white, a grate to be made before the spout within the side. Lacquer ware the finest that can be made....Fans of all the variety that the country affords..Hand skreens for ladys.tea fine and good quality, all well packed in tutenage {a zinc-like metal} as close as can be and then wrapt round in leaves of the country, and then put into tubs....Bring the tea in no small pots, in sweet-wood chests not in any pots till well assured that they are cleared from all scents, especially from the smells of the soldering oyl". G.Godden, *Oriental Export Porcelain*, p.28

21. Thomas, 1971, op.cit, p.103. A selection of inventories from the London Orphans' Court in the period 1675-1725 shows that the percentage listing utensils for 'hot drinks' (tea, coffee or chocolate) rose from 2% to 96% in this period, and those owning china from 4 to 80%. L.Weatherill, Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760, London, 1988, pp.27-28

22. H.C. and L.Mui, Shops and Shopkeeping in 18th Century England, London, 1989, p.178

23. F.De La Rochefoucauld, A Frenchman in England 1784. Cambridge, 1933, p.23

24. G.Godden, op. cit. p.47

25. Plate in England is less of real use than parade, porcelain being all the fashion; this custom is of long standing. Mons. Grosley's Tour to London [in 1763], London, 1772, vol.II, p.76, quoted in J.Marryat, A History of Pottery and Porcelain, London, 1857, p.279

26. This is born out by Lady Shelbourne's description of a dinner with the Duke of Northumberland; the dinner was very magnificent being all served on gilt plate and the Desert on the finest Dresden china I had see. The Plates of which had cost thirty Guineas a dozen. These were possibly pieces from the Harbury-Williams service. Washington, 1985, op.cit., no.389, p.455. Similarly the German Count Frederick Kielmansegge observed at a dinner at the Duke of Newcastle's in 1761 that there was as much gold and silver plate as could be found at a German prince's; the quantity of gold and silver plate, and vessels on the sideboards, was such that it would be hard to find the like in the houses of many German princes. At one time we have silver, at another gold, and at another china plates, according to the different course. At least ten to twelve servants out of livery waited upon us, all these people... expect tips when you leave. Count F.Kielmansegge, Diary of a Journey to England in the Years 1761-62, London, 1902, p.53.

27. By about 1740 the English had begun to stipulate conditions: Observe that the colour of the blue in No.3 [a sample piece] will do for the blue and white china throughout, for most people like a pale blue and the china thin. In 1749-50 they were instructed: You must not buy any coloured dishes or plates and of the rest of the china-ware not above one-tenth part of the coloured sort. G.Godden, English China, London, 1985, chapt.3

28. M.Snodin, Rococo, op.cit., no.01,2

29. The best introduction to 18th English porcelain perhaps remains ed.R.J.Charleston, English Porcelain 1745-1850, London, 1965

30. A. Lane, "English Porcelain Figures, London, 1961, p.3
31. G. Godden, English China, London, 1985, chapt.4
32. The petition of the Vincennes factory of that year refers to un nouvel etablissement qui vient de se former en Angleterre, d'une manufacture de porcelaine qui parait plus belle que celle de Saxe. A. Lane, English Porcelain Figures of the 18th Century, London, 1961, p.3
33. Rococo, op.cit., nos.6.19, 0.8,
34. B. Dragesco, English Ceramics in French Archives, London, 1993
35. T.H. Clarke, "French Influences at Chelsea", Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle, 4, part 5, pp.45-57
36. J.V.G. Mallet, "Chelsea" in Ed. R.J. Charleston, op.cit., p.31
37. The transaction is recorded in a letter from Sir Charles himself to his friend Henry Fox of June 9th, 1751: I received a letter of about ten days ago from Sr. Everard Fawkener, who is, I believe, concerned in the manufacture of China at Chelsea. He desir'd me to send over models for different Pieces from hence, in order to furnish the Undertakers with good designs; and would have had me send over fifty or threescore pounds' worth. But I thought it better and cheaper for the Manufacturers to give them leave to take away any of my China from Holland House [London], and to copy what they like. I have therefore told Sr. Everard, that, if he will go to your house, you will permitt him, and anybody He brings with him, to see my China, & to take away such pieces as they may have a mind to Copy. I find also that the Duke is a great encourager of the Chelsea China, and has bespoke a set for his own Table. Earl of Ilchester, 'A Notable Service of Meissen Porcelain', The Burlington Magazine, LV, 1929, p.189
38. T.H. Clarke, "Sir Charles Manbury Williams and the Chelsea Factory", English Ceramic Circle Transactions, 13, 2, 1988, pp.110-121
39. A. Lane, "Chelsea Porcelain Figures and the modeller Joseph Willems", Connoisseur, CXLV, 1960, pp.245-251
40. E. Adams, "Chelsea Porcelain", London, 1987, p.156
41. cf. Mrs. Elizabeth Fay, Letters from India, London, 1925, pp.189-190 on a Burdwan stew composed of everthing at table, fish, flesh and fowl; somewhat like the Spanish 'Olia Podrida'
42. Thomas Bentley, Wedgwood's partner, commented with surprise on a great many broth dishes and saucers on a visit to the Sevres factory in 1776, and the dealer Daguerre brought some to London

in the 1780s and 1790s, but could only sell dinner-services.  
Savill, 1988, p.643

43. The courses are much the same as in France except that the use of sauce is unknown in the English kitchen and that one seldom sees a 'ragout'. All the dishes consist of various meats either boiled or roasted and of joints weighing about twenty or thirty pounds. F.De La Rochefoucauld, A Frenchman in England 1784. Cambridge, 1933, pp.29-30. The comment on the absence of stews in England is interesting, as it explains why the Earl of Bristol commissioned two round tureens to match two existing oval tureens by Charles Kandler during his Embassy to Turin in 1755-58; presumably he was following the continental fashion for olio pots in a hunting region that even today serves bollito misto (mixed boiled meats). See The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting, Washington, 1985, no.454

44. Giving direction for a grand dessert. would be needless, for those persons who could give such grand desserts, either keep a proper person, or have the use of a confectioner...but for country ladies it is a pretty amusement both to make the sweetmeats and dress out a dessert, as it depends wholly on fancy and but little expense. E.Ayrton, The Cookery of England, London, 19 ,p.403

45. F.De La Rochefoucauld, op.cit, pp.29-30.

46. B.Hillier, op. cit. p.203

47. preface to his sale at Christies, February 10 and five following days, 1772

48. G.Godden, op. cit., p.53

49. P.Rowan, 'Derby Models Rediscovered', The Antique Dealers and Collectors Guide, May, 1988, pp.56-7

50. G.Savage, English Ceramics, London, 1961/83, p.168

51. quoted in E.Meteyard life and works of Wedgwood, London, 1865 (reprint 1980), pp.170-171

52. C.Cook, The Life and work of Robert Hancock, London, 1948, p.3

53. Rococo, op.cit., No.18

54. M.Snodin Rococo: art and design in Hogarth's England, London, 1984, p.27



55.M.Girouard, 'English Art and the Rococo', Country Life, January 13, 1966, pp.58-61, January 27, 1966, pp.188-190, February 3, 1966, pp.224-227

56.reprinted in 1966 by the Ceramic Book Company, Newport, England

57.G.Godden Oriental Export Porcelain and its Influence on European Wares, London, 197, p.372

58.G.Godden, op. cit., p.374

59.G.Coke, In Search of James Giles, Wingham, 1983

60.J.Mallet in Rococo, op.cit. no.0.37

61.G.Godden Oriental Export Porcelain and its Influence on British Wares, London, 197, p.128

62.G.Godden, English China London, 1985, chapt.10

63.G.Godden, op. cit., p.48. G.Coke, op.cit., p.42, observes that at the Worcester sale of December, 1769, complete services nearly always sold and quite a few of them went to private purchasers

64.see R.Copeland, Spode's Willow Pattern and other designs after the Chinese, London, 1980, pp.33-39

65.G.A.Godden Caughley & Worcester Porcelains 1775-1800, London, 1969, p.13

66.G.A.Godden, op. cit., p.13

67.G.Godden, op.cit.p.47

68.G.Godden, op.cit.p.50

## Chapter 10: The Rise of Staffordshire

As we have seen, pottery centres existed throughout Europe in any place where supplies of clay and a ready market conjoined to create favourable manufacturing conditions. However, pottery remained the poor relation of porcelain, deriving its forms and styles from its more prestigious sister. This is perhaps not true for peasant pottery made for local markets - the Bauerntopferie of central Europe - which used traditional techniques of decoration and patterns to good effect. The products made, however worthy, are not within the strict definitions of fashionable taste and so lie outside our story. Yet the eighteenth century saw the rise of one pottery district and its products which came to dominate fashionable tables throughout Europe.

The county of Staffordshire lies right in the centre of England. It had been a major centre of ceramic activity from medieval times onwards, based particularly on the area now comprising the five 'pottery towns' - Stoke, Hanley, Burslem, Tunstall and Longton, today all swallowed up in the modern town of Stoke-on-Trent. Its importance for the development of ceramic design lies not so much in its use of particular designers or painters, but in the technical developments made by the craftsmen, often anonymous, who worked in the district. Their achievements have been the subject of much analysis and

speculation from the early 19th century onwards, confused by the fact that so few early pieces are securely documented or marked.

Since there are relatively few written records for the individual makers and workshops that abounded in the district, we have to use two main published sources that purport to set out the story. The first is Dr. Robert Plot's The Natural History of Staffordshire (1686), a written survey of its structure and industries, characteristic of the scientific revival of the later 17th century. Plot took great care to describe the various processes and workshops that he visited, identifying Staffordshire as an area of major industrial activity. The second source is Simeon Shaw's History of the Staffordshire Potteries of 1829, written when this area was the most productive ceramic-making centre in the world. Like all such histories, it tends to interpret the story in terms of significant personages who made individual discoveries and contributions, at the expense of many other potters who probably also made a contribution that is now unrecorded; as such, it has a bias which has become accepted tradition and is impossible to correct. These books can also be supplemented by contemporary records relating to sales, taxes and rates, and petitions to Parliament. Most recently, archeological excavations of tips and waster sites have given concrete evidence of the kind of pottery that certain manufacturers made, and will lead to considerable rewriting of ceramic history in the future.



Staffordshire first came to prominence as a centre of ceramic manufacture in the 17th century, when references to local potters abound. Deposits of clay and coal co-existed with a good water-supply, and, within a short distance, deposits of lead, used for the making of glazes, and iron and copper, whose oxides were used for colouring them. In these circumstances, production could be organized on quite a small scale and exist as part of a "cottage" industry, co-existing with other industries in the same household, since the materials lay more or less on the doorstep. Potters had only to dig clay from the road outside; in 1681 Thomas Malkin of Sneyd, potter, was engrossed to fill up the pit he hath made in lane near to the Dale Hall before 14 Oct. (1). At this stage, pottery making was still very much a craft industry, comprising "potworks" rather than factories, which sold their products to travelling "crate-men" who carry them on their backs all over the country (2), and sold them at country fairs. Pictures of such pot-sellers, sitting amid a pile of brown and brown-glazed pots, can be seen in depictions of such fairs right into the 19th century.

Contemporaries seem to have first become aware of Staffordshire as a significant centre for the production of pottery in the later 17th century, when the aforementioned Dr. Robert Plot, in his The Natural History of Staffordshire, gave a detailed breakdown of the industry in scientific terms, mentioning the crude kinds of pottery that were made there. It is

invaluable as he gives a full description of the types of wares made, many of which are identifiable today:

the greatest Pottery they have in this County is carried on at Burslem near Newcastle under Lyme, where for making their severall sorts of Pots, they have as many different sorts of Clays, which they dig round about the Towne, all within half a miles distance, the best being found nearest the coale, and are distinguish't by their colours and uses as followeth:

1. Bottle clay, of a bright whitish streaked yellow colour.

2. Hard-fire clay of a duller whitish colour, and fuller intersperst with a dark yellow, which they use for their black ware, being mixt with the

3. Red blending Clay, which is of a dirty red colour.

4. White-clay, so called it seems though of a blewish colour, and used for making yellow-colour'd ware, because yellow is the lightest colour they make any Ware of

all which they call throwing clays because they are of a closer texture, & will work on the wheel (3).

Plot here describes four types of clay, giving a range of colours from red through to yellow and black. It should be noted that nothing very refined is described, and he specifically states that yellow coloured ware is the palest that they can achieve.

In these circumstances, types and decoration were comparatively simple, closely related to the peasant wares made

on the Continent and elsewhere in Britain. A favourite form of decoration on pots was in the form of slip, that is, a liquid coloured clay that was trailed over the object to form patterns or designs. The decoration might take the form of a brown slip trailed onto the yellowish glaze, or else the whole object could be dipped into a dark slip, and white slip be trailed over. A variety of objects were made in slipware, the best known being large chargers or display dishes decorated with crude but vigorous designs based on heraldic or religious motifs, such as coats-of-arms, mermaids, and the pelican in her piety. Other chargers depict royal portraits, Adam and Eve, and other subjects reminiscent of the types of decoration found on English delftware of the same period. A peculiarity of these dishes is that they are often inscribed at the base with a name, presumed to be that of the potter. Names on the signed pieces include John Wright and William Wright, Ralph Simpson, William Talor and George Talor. The best known name appearing on the large dishes is Thomas Toft, which appears on dishes dated from 1671 to 1683 (fig 1), or Ralph Toft, dating from 1676 to 1683. However, in spite of the fame that they have now achieved, neither person is traceable in the records as a potter (4).

Another class of item was drinking pots, tygs (a jug with

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1) Dish with Adam and Eve. Red earthenware, covered in white slip with trailed red slip decoration. Signed Thomas Toft 1674. Diameter 55.9cm. Staffordshire, Thomas Toft, 1674. Temple Newsam House, Leeds (16.499/47).

several handles for passing round a table), bleeding bowls and jugs. Production of these was not confined to Staffordshire, but was found in many places in Britain, such as Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and Wrotham in Kent. Some pieces bear inscriptions such as The best is not too good for you, suggesting that they may have been intended as gifts. Developments in slipware in the early 18th century included the production of moulded items, where the dish is made by pressing moist clay into a mould, to produce raised decoration which could then be emphasized with a different coloured slip. The most famous exponent seems to have been Samuel Malkin (1688-1741), who made a dish moulded with a clock face dateable to 1712 which is now in the British Museum (5), and a press moulded slipware dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum bearing the date 1715 (6).

A more sophisticated use of slipware lay in combining different coloured slips together to give the effect of marbling. A popular version comprised white and red slips trailed together and 'broken' with a wire brush, much after the manner they do when they marble paper, and then cloud them with a pencil when they are dry, as Dr. Plot writes (7). Such decoration is often found on shallow serving dishes found all over Britain. The cruder wares have a 'combed' effect and were made in many parts of England well into the 19th century. These can be exceptionally difficult to date as the styles changed little.

The major development in Staffordshire at the end of the 17th century was the introduction of the manufacture of stoneware. As we have seen, this was first made in Britain by John Dwight of Fulham. A relatively crude form of stoneware must have been made in Staffordshire from as early as 1693, when John Dwight prosecuted John and David Elers of Fulham, James Morley of Nottingham, and three Wedgwoods of Burslem for infringing his patent on stoneware by gaining the secrets from his labourer John Chandler. In 1697 Dwight similarly prosecuted Moses Middleton of Shelton, Cornelius Hamersley of Howle Ley and Joshua Astbury of Shelton for the same offence (8). This marked the beginning of a burgeoning stoneware industry that dominated Staffordshire production into the mid 18th century. The first Staffordshire productions of stoneware seem to have been of rather coarse salt-glazed tankards for beer drinking, mugs and cups in the brown salt-glaze, similar to that of Nottingham, sometimes stamped with the excise mark WR (for William III) or AR (for Queen Anne) to guarantee a full measure of beer. These were made as well as the simpler crouch ware, made from common clay and sand. These wares were all comparatively crude, and would have been used in drinking-houses or poor homes, rather than by people able to show a degree of wealth.

A more elegant class of stoneware was made by the Germans Philip and David Elers at Bradwell Wood, near Burslem, who emigrated to England after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. They

are supposed to have worked as silversmiths before turning to pottery, producing red stonewares of the kind made in Holland by Ary de Milde and others in the tradition of Chinese Ys-hsing stoneware. They are presumably the 'Dutchmen' recorded by Dr. Martin Lister with such praise: As for the Red Ware of China, that has been, and is done in England, to a far greater perfection than China, we having as good materials, viz. the soft Haematites, and far better artists in Pottery, but in this particular we are beholden to two Dutchmen [sic] brothers who wrought in Staffordshire (9). Their wares include tea- and coffee-pots, cups, saucers and dishes; they are exceptionally finely made and trimly potted, and have a lightness of body not heretofore associated with Staffordshire wares. Their wares, and those of their imitators (for it is often impossible to distinguish between them) are decorated with applied 'sprigged' decoration, often of Chinese motifs such as prunus blossom (fig 2). These was made by impressing sharply cut metal dies or stamps into pads of wet clay applied to the pot, and scraping away superfluous decoration from around the edges of the die. Such wares could be further gilded by way of decoration, indicating their use by the richer classes, and mark a great refinement in the quality of ceramic made in Staffordshire.

The rise in quality was caused partly by changing tastes,

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2) Mug and beaker. Red stoneware with sprigged decoration. Height of mug 11.8cm. Staffordshire or London, possibly Elers workshop, c.1700. Temple Newsam House, Leeds (20-21/70)

such as the introduction of new hot drinks -tea, coffee and chocolate - to the country, with a corresponding rise in the need for fine quality ceramics in which to serve them. Naturally the very rich used porcelain, but there existed in Britain a vast body of people of the middling sort who could not afford porcelain, but wanted ceramics that had something fashionable about their design. There came into being in Staffordshire a great number of potters who made stoneware of fine quality, which had the required toughness to withstand boiling water. This led to the production of a vast range of novel teapots, tea-canisters, milk jugs cups and saucers in different forms and with different decoration, which were made in considerable quantities by the mid 18th century. An advertisement in the Daily Advertiser of August, 24th, 1747 says that To be sold...during the Welch fair. All sorts of Welch ware, Derby and Staffordshire fine stoneware, amongst which are great varieties of curious teapots of all sizes, that far excel either silver or china, both for drawing and pouring, and not inferior in make or beauty (10).

These decorated stonewares were made in two ways. The earliest consisted of wares thrown on a potter's wheel with applied sprigged decoration applied separately from a mould, rather than moulded directly onto the body in the manner of Elers red stonewares. The first kind of stoneware seems to have been a fine, thin-walled brown stoneware today called drabware, with the

sprigged decoration being made of the fine white pipe-clay imported from Devon (fig 3). At this time, a form of chingiserie decoration was still fashionable, and the sprigged decoration frequently copied Chinese motifs. The range of wares encompassed all the fashionable silver items of teapots, cream jugs, cups and saucers, and sometimes even larger vases similar to the Chinese. These wares were sometimes glazed in a second firing called a glost firing, which gave the potters much greater control of the body and minimized losses in the kiln. Excavated wasters of such wares have been found in the pottery of Samuel Bell, dating from 1724 onwards (11).

However, fashion dictated a search for ever-whiter varieties of pottery. One technique was to dip lighter bodied unfired products of Staffordshire clay into a dip of white pipe-clay slip; calcined flint from Devonshire was later introduced into the slip to give an even whiter effect. Contemporary accounts differentiate between the two (12). The latter innovation is often credited to John Astbury (1688-1743), and a number of small figures, decorated in coloured glazes, are often attributed to his hand. However, by the 1720s a thin, white salt-glazed stoneware was made with a body that was a mixture of white pipe-clay and calcined flint; a patent of 1722 for making transparent earthenware obtained by Thomas Biling presumably

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3) Drabware teapot and enamelled salt-glazed stoneware teapot. Heights 4.25 and 3.75 inches. Staffordshire, c.1740 and c.1760. County Museum, Truro



refers to a refined version of this ware. These salt-glazed white-bodied wares were to dominate Staffordshire production for the next thirty years.

A sideline to these tea- and dinner-wares in the early 18th century were crude but attractive figures in white salt-glazed stoneware, often in the form of 'pew' groups, so called because they showed a person or people sitting stiffly in a pew in church (fig 4). They generally show people in fashionable dress, the gentleman in long coats and the women in wide hooped petticoats, but are so crude in modelling that they can hardly have been rivals to the porcelain figures of the great factories. They are presumably early example of cottage chimney piece decoration.

Many of these salt-glazed pieces were made, not on the potter's wheel, but from moulds, in the manner of the great rococo porcelain of Sevres. The introduction of plaster-of-Paris moulds is credited to Ralph Daniel in about 1745 (13). The original blocks for making such moulds were in the shape of the teapot or whatever object required moulding, possibly even being of salt-glazed stoneware or other ceramic material, or metal or alabaster. From these the concave plaster moulds were taken to be sold to the potters. Some moulded wares were made by pressing

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4) 'Pew Group'. Salt-glazed stoneware, with enamelled decoration. Height 6.5 inches. Staffordshire, c.1730. Burnap Collection, Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas.

the moist clay into a mould and joining the pieces up later (press-moulding); this was most obviously used for flattish items such as plates, and occasionally simple figures. Another way of producing moulded wares was to pour liquid clay into an alabaster or a porous plaster-of-Paris mould in the manner of metal-casting (slip-casting). A complex object such as a teapot might require a number of moulds, which would produce the two sides of the body, spout and handle in separate parts, which would then be luted together with wet clay to produce an object to go to the kiln for firing.

The Staffordshire potters and block-cutters produced an enormous number of different patterns, nearly all in the fashionable rococo or chinoiserie styles, which continued to be popular into the 1760s. Pieces vary from hexagonal or angled wares with panels of moulded ornament, including tea-pots in the shapes of houses, through to more obviously rococo pieces, such as wares moulded with shell motifs. As with English porcelain, there was a tendency to make the smaller wares for the dinner table, such as sauce boats, which might otherwise have been made in silver. A particular specialty seems to have been moulded and pierced wares, including plates and baskets, clearly imitating rococo silver of the mid 18th century. By the second half of the 18th century items of great sophistication were being made, such as wall vases in the shape of a cornucopia or with mask heads. The urge to imitate items of silver or porcelain was such that a

version of the Chelsea "goat-and-bee" jug was even made (14).

The design of these pieces thus lies with the mould-maker, who made the blocks, rather than the potter who executed the finished product. Most blocks are the work of anonymous cutters, who may have devised their own patterns; however, the earliest dated block in Stoke Museum is for a sauce-boat and is signed and dated RW 1748. This is thought to stand for Ralph Wood (1715-72) who, with his brother Aaron (1717-85), is credited with some of the finest and most inventive moulds. His son Enoch was to write of him he was modeller to all the potters in Staffordshire at the latter end of the time that white ware or white stoneware was made (15). Documented examples of his work are a block for a "spitting pot" in the British Museum and a plate with a barleycorn and basketwork moulding with an inscription on the back by Enoch Wood saying it was moulded by his father in 1760 (16). A sauce boat-block that may be his work was used, not only by the makers of salt-glazed stoneware, but also by Bow and the Longton Hall porcelain factory in Staffordshire, indicating the versatility of a fashionable shape between the different mediums (fig 5).

By the mid 18th century Staffordshire had risen to national

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5) Salt-glazed stoneware sauce boat block attributable to Ralph Wood, 1756, and excavated biscuit sherds from the factory of Humphrey Palmer, Staffordshire, c.1760. City Museum, Stoke-on-Trent.

economic importance, as improvements in manufacture and export facilities led to a vast increase in production. Output is thought to have increased in value from about 10,000 in 1710 to about 40,000 by 1760. By then it was no longer a local industry, using local materials, but an industry using resources from all over the country and exporting all over the world. White 'ball' clay was imported from Devon to improve the colour and texture of the body from about 1710. A windmill for grinding flints, also used in the body of paler wares, was established at Burslem by 1750 (17). The opening of the River Weaver to traffic from 1733 resulted in exports carried on it increasing from 100 tons p.a. to 1800 p.a. in 1760 (18). This opened up the market not only to parts of England, but also to the whole world through such ports as Liverpool and Hull.

The result of this demand was increased specialization of production, with the pottery workshops leaving behind their craft origin and changing into something akin to a modern industrial process, with much specialization of labour on different sites. By the early 18th century production was on a par with minor industries, and in size they greatly exceeded that of local craftsmen; in 1710-15 a year's rent on a slipware pottery in Shelton was 5, twice that of a blacksmith's (19). In 1749 the lease on a pottery in Shelton listed as many as five separate houses. Specialized outbuildings, such as the Smoke-house, Throwing-house, Turning-House, Slip-House and Saggar-House were

in existence by 1750, though smaller potteries were still run by men who worked as farmers as well (20). The usual number of employees of a production centre seems to have been about forty, as at Thomas Whieldon's in the 1760s (21), and the total number of people employed in the Potteries is thought to have risen from about 500 in 1710-15 to 15,000 in 1785 (22). However, it was not until 1867 that potteries became 'factories' by statute law (23).

As the century progressed, we begin to get more familiar with the names of those potters who operated in Staffordshire, such as Enoch Booth, William Greatbatch, William Littler, Humphrey Palmer, Thomas Whieldon, and John and Thomas Wedgwood of the Big House, Newcastle-upon-Lyme, which has led to many individual attributions of unmarked wares. There seem to have been about one hundred and fifty manufacturers in all. They all seem to have made a great variety of objects in different styles and techniques, sometimes sharing the same moulds; to add the confusion, they frequently bought unglazed or undecorated wares from each other, or sent them out to the same firm of independent decorators to be decorated. In these circumstances, it is preferable to try and avoid precise attribution of pieces to a single maker, unless backed up by a firm provenance or inscription, or similarities with archeological wasters (24).

Painted and enamelled decoration was also applied, often reminiscent of the decoration of porcelain. A cheap form of

decorating pottery was incising the decoration before firing and filling in the grooves with colour, usually blue made from Zaffre (hence today's term scratch blue) (fig 6). Most examples seem to date from between 1740 and 1780. The process is recorded by Simeon Shaw: The Flowerers now scratched the jugs and tea ware, with a sharp pointed nail, and filled the interstices with ground zaffre [cobalt oxide mixed with sand], in rude imitation of the unmeaning scenery on foreign porcelain; and in this art women were instructed, as a constant demand was made on the men for plastic branches (25). Completely blue overglaze wares, similar to the Sevres bleu-de-roi ground colour, was made by dipping the ware into a slip containing zaffre, so that the resulting object, once fired, was covered in a glossy blue colour. The invention was credited by Shaw to the potter William Littler and Aaron Wedgwood, who shared a pot-bank at Brownhills, and the process is thought to have been in use in the 1750s and 1760s, and appears also on the products of Littler's porcelain factory at Longton Hall.

Painted decoration of the kind seen on porcelain was often done by outside decorators, in the specialist decorators workshops with muffle kilns that we have already encountered with porcelain. The potting families of Daniel of Cobridge and Warburton of Hot Lane became specialists in the art of

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6) Flower block. Salt-glazed stoneware, with incised cobalt ('scratch blue') decoration. Length 6.75 inches. Staffordshire, c.1750. County Museum, Truro

enamelling, taking in the work of other potters; for instance, on the 24th September, 1762, Thomas and John Wedgwood sent the Warburton's 2 Doz[en] White let in one dish (teapots) to be enamelled (26). The range of decoration was enormous, but painted chinoiserie and landscapes figured largely, closely followed by sprigs of flowers in the Meissen manner. Some exceptionally fine pieces are known painted with a portrait of the Young Pretender, Charles James Stewart, and must date to around the time of the Great Rebellion of 1745 (fig 7). By mid century, some of this decoration appeared in coloured 'reserves' in the manner of Sevres or the more ambitious English factories, indicating a high level of fashionable influence, and it would appear that the account published by Simeon Shaw in his History of the Staffordshire Potteries of 1829 remains substantially accurate: [enamelling] was first practiced by some Dutchmen, in Hot Lane who, to preserve their operation secret, had their muffle in a garden at Bagnall...Mr. Daniel, of Cobridge, was the first native who practised enamelling. Workmen were soon employed, from Bristol, Chelsea, Worcester and Liverpool...For some years the branch of Enamelling was conducted by persons wholly unconnected with the manufacture of the Pottery; in some instances altogether for the manufacturers; in others on the private account of the

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7) Mug, salt-glazed stoneware, with incised blue decoration, dated 1749; coffee-pot, salt-glazed stoneware with enamelled decoration, Staffordshire, c.1750; teapot, salt-glazed stoneware (drabware) with applied decoration, Staffordshire, c.1740 jug, red stoneware, Staffordshire or Nottingham, c.1700; Height of mug 14.9cm. Temple Newsam House, Leeds

Enamellers; but when there was a great demand for these ornamented productions, a few of the more opulent manufacturers necessarily connected this branch with the others. At first, the enamellers embellished merely the tasteful productions, figures, jugs, cornucopiae, &c., and the rich carved work on the vessels; then they painted groups of flowers, figures and birds; and at length they copied their breakfast and dessert sets, the designs of the richest oriental porcelain (27).

The mid century saw a increased development of techniques of earthenware, with experimental use of clays and glazes, to produce ordinary earthenwares of greater quality. One of the great developments was the invention of a solid body called 'marbled' or 'agate' ware. Here several different coloured clays, tinted with metal oxides, were wedged together in layers (but not blended) so that they adhered to one another but still showed as separate particles of clay in the fired product. From the resulting block thin layers could be sliced off with a wire which showed the veining all through, which could be pressed into a mould. The result was a body which had the appearance of marble or 'agate', and was much used for teawares and decorative pieces (fig 8). Great care had to be taken in potting so as not to blur the coloured clays; when such pieces were thrown on a wheel, they inevitably achieved a 'swirling' effect.

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8) Coffee pot. Mixed 'wedged' lead-glazed earthenware (agateware). Height 26.5cm. Staffordshire, c.1740. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



A similar effect was achieved by mixing coloured slips together, in the manner of the marbled or 'combed' wares made in the 17th century, and applying them to the body to create different effects of marbling, making surface agate or marbled ware. Such effects were aided by a whiter, more refined body, which was becoming popular, using the white clays from Devon or Dorset which hitherto had been used only for sprigged decoration (28). A particularly popular combination of brown and white gave an effect of tortoiseshell, which was used on all kinds of goods, such as teapots, coffepots (figs 9), jugs and even large tureens and plates.

By the second half of the 18th century the potters of Staffordshire were the most advanced in the world. They made a wide range of light-bodied wares which had captured all but the richest market. The opening of new canals, such as Newcastle canal from Stoke to Newcastle 1759, and Caldon canal from Shelton to Leek and Froghall in 1773 (29) greatly increased their market. The economic importance of the industry can be gauged from the following petition of the potters to Parliament in 1762 asking for a turnpike road from Burslem to Lawton in Cheshire: In Burslem, and its neighbourhood, are near 150 separate Potteries, for making various kinds of Stone and Earthen Ware; which

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9) Teapot and coffee pot. Creamware, decorated in mixed glazes to give the effect of tortoiseshell. Teapot height 11.6cm. Staffordshire, c.1760. Private collection.

together, find constant Employment and Support for near 7000  
People. The Ware of these potteries is exported in vast  
Quantities from London, Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, and other Sea  
Ports, to our several Colonies in America and the West Indies, as  
well as to almost every Port in Europe. Great Quantities of  
Flint Stones are used in making some of the Ware, which are  
brought by Sea from different Parts of the Coast to Liverpool and  
Hull; and the clay for making the White Ware, is brought from  
Devonshire or Cornwall, chiefly to Liverpool; the Materials from  
whence are brought by Water up the Rivers Mersey and Weaver, to  
Winsford in Cheshire; those from Hull up the Trent to Wellington  
and from Winsford and Wellington, the Whole are brought up by  
Land Carriage to Burslem. The Ware when made, is conveyed to  
Liverpool and Hull, in the same Manner the Materials are brought  
from those Places (30).

It was this fertile ground that gave birth to perhaps the greatest of all British potters, Josiah Wedgwood (1730-95). He was born, the last of twelve children, to Thomas Wedgwood, a potter at Burslem, a relative of the more successful Thomas Wedgwood, maker of salt-glazed ware who lived at the 'Big House' at Burslem. He was formally apprenticed to his brother Thomas in 1744 for five years, during which time he contracted smallpox, which was to lead to the amputation of his leg in 1766. In 1752 he joined the pottery of John Harrison and Thomas Alders at Cliff Bank, Stoke, who presumably made the standard salt-glazed

and lead-glazed wares, although nothing precise is known of their activity. However, his great breakthrough came in 1754, when he went into partnership with the highly-successful potter Thomas Whieldon at Fenton Vivian. Whieldon's products are listed in an Account and Memorandum Book for 1749-53, which mentions a wide range of white salt-glazed stoneware, tortoiseshell ware and pale lead-glazed earthenware (creamware), as well as some figures. Such wares were excavated from Whieldon's pottery site in the 1960s, although similar wares have also been found on other sites, such as that of Humphrey Palmer. It would appear that at this time Whieldon was already producing wares such as teapots and milk jugs covered in a green glaze moulded in the form of cauliflowers, pineapples, and other fruit and vegetables, similar to the rococo wares made in porcelain at Chelsea and Longton Hall (fig 10). These wares became very popular in the 1760s and were supplied by a number of manufacturers, the best known of which was the potter William Greatbatch (1735-1813), who had been apprenticed to Whieldon in 1749, but left him in 1759 to set up business independently in 1762. To him are also attributable the Landskip teapots decorated with a house and garden in panels at the sides (31).

We do not know the precise reasons behind the Whieldon-Wedgwood partnership, but it is clear that it gave Wedgwood the

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10) Teapots moulded in the form of fruit and vegetables. Creamware, decorated with coloured glazes. Height 5.25cm. Staffordshire, c.1765. County Museu, Truro

chance to experiment with a wide range of processes and techniques (32). Wedgwood himself summed up the situation in his Experiment Book: This suite of Experiments was begun at Fenton hall, in the parish of Stoke upon Trent, about the beginning of the year 1759, in my partnership with Mr. Whieldon, for the improvement of our manufacture of earthenware, which at that time stood in great need of it, the demand for our goods decreasing daily, and the trade universally complained of as being bad & in a declining condition. White stone ware (viz with salt glaze) was the principal article of our manufacture; but this had been made a long time, and the prices were now reduced so low that the potters could not now afford to bestow much expence [sic] upon it, or make it so good in any respect as the ware would otherwise admit of. And with regard to Elegance of form, that was an object very little attended to. The article next in consequence to Stoneware was an imitation of Tortoiseshell. But as no improvement had been made in this branch for several years, the country was grown weary of it; and though the prices had been lowered from time to time, in order to increase the sale, the expedient did not answer, and something new was wanted, to give a little spirit to the business. I had already made an imitation of Agate; which was esteemed beautiful & a considerable improvement; but people were surfeited with wares of these variegated colours. These considerations induced me to try for some more solid improvement, as well in the Body as the Glazes, the Colours, the Forms, of the articles of our manufacture. I saw

the field was spacious, and the soil so good, as to promise an ample recompence to any one who should labour diligently in its cultivation (33).

In 1759 Wedgwood seems to have set up on his own account, leasing the Ivy House works from his cousin John Wedgwood of the Big House, Burslem. One of his first employees was his cousin Thomas. In 1763 he moved to larger premises at the Brick House Works, Burslem. His wares are not recorded, but presumably they consisted of tortoiseshell and cauliflower wares, using moulds obtained from Greatbatch or Whieldon. He seems to have had extensive business contacts, most notably with William Greatbatch and John Baddesley of Shelton, a distinguished potter who produced the full range of Staffordshire ware (34). Wedgwood took not only blocks, but fired ware from Greatbatch (35). He also sent Greatbatch drawings which he could subsequently work up into blocks, illustrative of the close working procedures of the Staffordshire potters.

However, Wedgwood was soon developing trading links outside the Staffordshire area, and in particular with the employment of Sadler and Green of Liverpool, who had developed a specialty of transfer-printed wares, using other potters' wares, beginning first with tiles, and from 1761 using blanks of tea- and tablewares from Wedgwood, although nothing seems to be precisely dateable to this early period. This trading link led to his

friendship (and later partnership) with the Liverpool merchant Thomas Bentley, who could put him more directly in contact with fashionable taste. This was now moving away from the quaint and colourful wares of the rococo period towards something more austere and learned, and heralds a new chapter in ceramic history. In 1766 we have records of Wedgwood exchanging cauliflower blocks for manufactured cauliflower cups and saucers from the potter John Baddeley; this may be seen as the termination of his trade in green cauliflower ware and other pottery imitating naturalistic motifs (36). Although other potters in Staffordshire such as Greatbatch continued to produce coloured wares into the 1770s, the market henceforth lay in styles of ever-increasing severity, which can only be understood in relationship to an enormous change in the intellectual and philosophical basis of European society itself.

1. A. Mountford, 'The Illustrated Guide to Staffordshire Salt-Glazed Stoneware', London, 1971, p.10
2. J. Thomas, The Rise of the Staffordshire Potteries, Bath, 1971, p.4
3. A. Mountford, 1971, op.cit., p.18
4. see R.G. Cooper, English Slipware Dishes, London, 1968
5. Cooper, op.cit. p.101
6. D. Towner in World Ceramics, London, 1968, fig.738
7. B. Rackham, Early Staffordshire Pottery, London, 1951, p.7
8. Mountford, op.cit., pp.5-10
9. W.B. Honey, 'Elers Ware', Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle, 1, no.2 p.15
10. L. Weatherill, 'Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760', London, 1988, p.85
11. D. Barker in The Wedgwood Society of New York [Newsletter], March, 1994, p.4
12. Mountford, op.cit., p.37
13. S. Shaw, op.cit. pp.162-3
14. Mountford, op.cit., fig.106
15. quoted by J. Mallet in Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England, London, 1984, p.241
16. Mountford, 1971, pl.152
17. Thomas, 1971, op.cit., p.7
18. Weatherill, op.cit., p.
19. L. Weatherill, The Pottery Trade and North Staffordshire 1600-1760, Manchester, 1971, p.43
20. Weatherill, op.cit., pp.61, 73
21. Weatherill, op.cit., p.52
22. Thomas, op.cit., p.13

23. Thomas, op.cit., p.11
24. D. Barker, 'Discovering Staffordshire Ceramics' in The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar Handbook, 1991, pp.12-18
25. Mountford, op.cit., p.48
26. ibid, p.56
27. Mountford, op.cit., p.56
28. P. Halfpenny, 'Creamware: Its Origins and Development', The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar [Handbook], London, 1993, pp.19-27
29. Thomas, 1971, op.cit., p.88
30. Mountford, op.cit., p.12
31. D. Towner, Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle, V, part IV, p.814
32. see R. Reilly, Wedgwood, London, 1989, pp.30-34
33. A. Dawson, Masterpieces of Wedgwood in the British Museum, London, 1984, pp.10-11
34. J. V. G. Mallet, 'John Baddesley of Shelton, An Early Staffordshire Maker of Pottery and Porcelain', Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle, vol.6, 3, 1967, pp.208-209
35. In May 1764 Greatbatch wrote to Wedgwood that There are now ready two of the Crates of the Pine Apple ware, and a large quantity of Plates - about a gross & 1-2 of Light Couler teapots & a good quantity of China tpts the same as Mr. Whieldon & other sorts... Should be glad to have your advice in the shape of the Squirrel & Bird tpt Block, & whether you would have a ground work upon it or not, the work will be Completed to Day or to Morrow to lay on - There is one size ready of the fruit dish and stand & will make a few for your approbation. Mallet, op.cit. p.43
36. Mallet, op.cit., p.43



## Chapter 11: The Classical Revival

Classical art - the art of ancient Greece and Rome - was a major influence in the art of Western Europe from the 15th century to the late 19th century. We have seen how in the 15th and 16th centuries the Renaissance ('rebirth') in Italy tried to emulate and rival some of aspects of the antique. But their Renaissance was very much a re-creation of the past in which the styles of classical art were adapted to a new norm. Many specific instances are known of direct borrowing from classical art, but in general the intention was to surpass rather than simply copy the art of the past. The resulting products could seldom be mistaken for real specimens of classical art, even if at the time contemporaries thought that artists and sculptors had produced items of equivalent value. The movement we are dealing with in the 18th century laid claims to be a much more exact imitation of Classical art, especially in items for the domestic interior, reproducing details of the antique with apparent understanding and taste; but we shall also see how the movement in fact was very eclectic, deriving inspiration from a wide range of sources, and using them to create a version of the antique that suited the norms and forms of 18th century society, and could fit into a more modern way of life.

This revival was closely linked with trends in 18th century

thought, called the 'Enlightenment'. This was an intellectual and social movement which sought to understand the world in rational rather than emotional or religious terms, supplanting the Bible and religion as the ultimate authority in favour of the study of human society and nature through scientific observation. It had its roots in the scientific advances of the 17th century, but differed in that it had an impact on man's perception of himself within society, and was eventually to undermine the whole principle of a hierarchical society, with a God-given King at the head. The individual's allegiance to a God-ordained King was replaced by the concept of the virtues of public responsibility and citizenship. The most famous exponent was of course Jean-Jacques Rousseau, with his admiration for the 'noble savage' (as opposed to noble by family origin), and the belief that a 'primitive' society is morally better than a hierarchical and artificial society such as that that existed in 18th century Europe. These ideas tended to undermine the philosophical basis of the organization of society, and, in particular, the authority of the Crown and the belief that the King was appointed by God to rule on earth, in favour of the belief that the individual could achieve personal status through the execution of selfless and altruistic deeds, in the manner of the heroes of Classical antiquity. Thus Classical antiquity was seen as both more 'natural' and morally better than 18th century society, and its disciplined artistic style superior to the unrestrained rococo style.

The date of the first signs of the appearance of this movement in the decorative arts has occasioned the most furious debate amongst art historians; though it is generally agreed that it had its epicentre in Rome, much ink has been spilt on whether it was France or England that played the lead in reintroducing classical forms - straight lines, the Greek key pattern, muted colours and severe outlines - into the repertoire of the decorative arts. The introduction of such features as the straight neo-classical chair leg have occasioned much virulent and learned argument (1). However, this type of rigid nationalism would not have been recognized in the 18th century itself; 'neo-classicism' (as the movement was termed in the late 19th century) was an international movement whose main proponents were in contact with each other, with different manifestations in each country.

We should first be aware of discontents with the rococo style among architects and people with pretensions to taste. The rococo style had its detractors even at the apparent height of its success. Much of the criticism came from architects and sculptors, who, as we might expect, would find faults in an 'irrational' style which owed its origins to the work of goldsmiths and ornamental print-makers, and was so unsuited to the straight lines and levels of building work. As early as 1737 the French architect J.F. Blondel, in his influential book De la

Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance, criticized 'the ridiculous jumble of shells, dragons, reeds, palm-trees, and plants which is the be-all and end-all of modern interior decoration' (2). These discontents were closely linked with dissatisfaction with the Court of Louis XV, with its emphasis on small-scale luxuries and minor pieces of architecture, the taste of the King's mistresses, quite apart from its tendency to lose wars; it was contrasted unfavourably with the glorious days of Louis XIV, when France was the dominant nation in Europe. Similar objections to the rococo style were raised by architects in Britain, though here they were overlaid with patriotic connotations. The architect Isaac Ware complained that we aped the taste of the French, 'a frivolous people whom we are too apt to imitate' and that the rococo style 'consists of crooked lines like C's and S's' (3). This was linked not just to frivolity, but bad government and immorality. Similarly the artist William Hogarth wrote that France was 'A farcial pomp of war, parade of religion, and bustle with little, very little business. In short, poverty, slavery and insolence with an affectation of politeness' (4). During the Seven Years War of 1757-63 there was even formed an Anti-Gallican league, headed by Lord Blakeney, to whom the furniture carver Thomas Johnson dedicated his One Hundred and Fifty New Designs in 1758. The title page shows the figure of Britannia, who holds a shield bearing the arms of the association, while, above her, flies a putto labelled 'Genius' who sets fire to a strip of linked scrolls labelled 'French Paper

Machée '(5). The irony is that the basic design, composed of asymmetrical scrollwork and 'rocaille', is fully in the French rococo tradition. By the same irony Hogarth is known as the painter who advocated the serpentine 'line of beauty' in his Analysis of Beauty of 1753 and Isaac Ware is best known for his flamboyant rococo interiors in Chesterfield House, London (6).

As a constant background to these stylistic and nationalistic attacks on the rococo was the feeling that the art of Greece and Rome, with its emphasis on order, balance, symmetry, straight lines and restraint, represented the ideal which all should follow. This feeling was encouraged by the popularity of the Grand Tour, the process by which a gentleman, bred on a Classical education, traversed the Continent with Rome as his ultimate goal. It was especially popular with the nobility of Great Britain, where power lay in the hands of the aristocracy rather than the Crown. They had successfully created their own architectural style, Palladianism, based on the work of the Classicizing Italian architect Andrea Palladio (1508-80), whose work was imitated by the British architect Inigo Jones (1573-1652). This style was of major importance in the decorative arts, since its main protagonist William Kent (1685-1748) devised a style of interior decoration in the Classical style which included details such as room fittings and furniture. The classical style in architecture held constant sway in Britain during the 18th century, aided by the publication of such books

as James Stuart's and Nicholas Revett's The Antiquities of Athens in 1762 and Robert Adam's Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia in 1764. These books served to stimulate a taste for the Classical ideal, which was continued in interiors and even down to the furniture and decorative details.

The Classical style was also held in regard in mid 18th century France, but its ideals were upheld by the French Academy in Rome rather than in France itself. This had been set up in the 17th century as a training academy in the Villa Medici for young painters, sculptors and architects, subsidized by bursaries from the Crown. Prominent students in the 1740s and 1750s include the painter Jean Baptiste Marie Pierre (1713-89), the architect Jean Laurent Le Geay (1710-after 1786), the sculptor Jean Francois Saly (1717-76) and the painter Joseph Marie Vien (1716-1809). They all rejected the flamboyance of the rococo style in favour of something that had something of the purity and simplicity of the ancients. Though as students they had little chance of giving permanent expression to their views in the form of a major public building, they could demonstrate their ideas in temporary decorations for the Roman Festival called the Chineza, which acted as a vehicle for new styles of decoration. Furthermore, they publicized their ideas and their abilities through the means of decorative prints, demonstrating their ideas in two dimensional form. Those architectural caprices designed by Le Geay in the 1740s were considered particularly important and the French

draughtsman Cochin was to write of him that the time of a return to a better taste can be dated to the arrival of Legeay (7).

One important visitor to the Academy in the 1750s was the brother of Madame de Pompadour, the Marquis de Marigny. He had been travelling in Italy in the years 1749-51 with the intention of improving his taste so that he could take over the influential post of Directeur-General des Batiments, Jardins, Arts, Academies et Manufacturers Royales on the death of the then incumbent. He was accompanied on his journeys by the Abbe Le Blanc, the architect Soufflot, and the draughtsman Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-90), who were to guide him to see true beauties and avoid the false. The visit was strictly didactic in intention; for instance, Soufflot made a point of taking him to see the rococo palace at Stupinigi in Turin 'in the frivolous style of Meissonnier'. The party was shocked by the degeneracy that they saw in architecture and design, finding buildings to admire only in Florence. Everywhere followed the French taste for extravagance; the most extravagant caprices have become the fashion and the most applauded (8).

These criticisms were soon applied beyond architecture and interior decoration to the smaller-scale decorative arts. Cochin, though himself in origin an accomplished rococo draughtsman, wrote a series of articles in the French paper Mercure de France criticizing the rococo style for its irrationality. For

instance, in the Mercure de France for December 1754 he wrote an ironic petition to goldsmiths that 'whenever they execute a life-size artichoke or celery stalk on an olio pot or some other piece of plate, to be good enough not to set beside a hare as big as a finger, a lark as large as life and a pheasant about a quarter or a fifth of its real size' (9). This was a critique of the irrational disparities of scale often found on rococo plate.

A further stimulus to the development of Neo-Classicism was the discovery, illustration and publication of new archeological sites. In particular, the excavations at the buried sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum meant that far more was known about the daily life of Ancient Rome, especially through the recovery of small items relating to the domestic interior. Augustus III of Saxony acquired three statues excavated at Herculaneum with the collection of Prince Eugen of Vienna in 1736 (10), and in 1753 the excavations at Pompeii had even been visited by the flamboyant Karl Eugen of Wuertemberg, though it is probable that he was probably more captivated with the porcelain factory at Capodimonte (11). The results of the excavations were published in book form in the Antichita d'Ercolano from 1757-92, although these do not seem to have been generally available at first, and the discoveries at Pompeii did not have their fullest impact on the decorative arts until the style etrusque in France at the end of the century.



These volumes were simply one of a great number of such volumes which appeared in the middle of the century, disseminating classical ideas to the educated public. Books of classical antiquities had of course been published much earlier, for instance Bellori's Admiranda Romanorum Antiquatum of 1693 and Montfaucon's L'Antiquite Expliquee of 1719-20; however, it was the publications of mid-century that stimulated the greatest interest. They generally appeared with a text that explained the meaning of their contents to the public, as in the Comte de Caylus's Recueil d'Antiquites published in 1752-3, and Giovanni Battista Passeri's Picturae Etruscorum in vasculis published in Rome in 1767-75 (fig 1) (12). The greatest and most influential volume was perhaps D'Harcenville's Collections of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities from the Cabinet of the Hon.W.Hamilton (1767-76) (13), which portrayed the collection of Greek vases (then thought to be Etruscan as they were excavated in Italy) which the British envoy, Sir William Hamilton, had assembled during his stay in Naples. Its introduction expresses the hope that it will be used by designers. These volumes led to a renewed appreciation of true classical vases as decorative motifs, though they seem to have been considered most appropriate for libraries, where, with Classical busts, they decorated the tops of bookcases (14).

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1) Frontispiece to G.B.Passeri's Picturae Etruscorum in vasculis, Rome, 1767-75, showing the discovery of 'Etruscan' vases.

However, it was Greece that provided the main focus for intellectual discussion. This was despite the fact the few of its protagonists had visited there, and knowledge had to come from publications such as Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens or prints of the antiquities published by Robert Sayer. However, the main prophet of this movement was neither French nor English, but the German Johann Joachim Winckelmann. He had studied science and theology at the Universities of Halle and Jena, before going to Dresden in 1754 to act as librarian for Cardinal Passionei. This introduced him to Classical works of art, and in 1755 he published Reflections on the Imitation of a Greek Art in Painting and Sculpture, in which he criticized the caricatura-carvings, and favourite shells of the rococo as being as false as the grotesques criticized by Vitruvius (15). In 1758 he became librarian to Cardinal Albani in Rome and published his History of Ancient Art in 1764. In this he praised early Greek art for simplicity, even though he knew it only through Roman copies. He especially admired its hard, powerful and severe style, which he linked to a continuous stylistic development, set out in three ages, in the manner of the historian of Renaissance art Giorgio Vasari (1511-74), but always based on an underlying timeless serenity: 'the general and predominant mark of Greek masterpieces is noble simplicity and calm grandeur, both in gesture and in expression....the expression of all Greek statues reveals even in the midst of passions a great and quiet soul.' It was this kind of propaganda which led to the revived classical

style of the second half of the 18th century being christened, with very little justification, the gout grec (the Greek taste) in its earliest stages.

There is much dispute as to which country showed the first signs of a Classical revival in the decorative arts. In France the designer Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain (1715-59) supplied neo-classical designs for the francophile Count Tessin in Sweden as early as 1754 (16). Le Lorrain was to go on to design the first suite of furniture which is generally acknowledged to be the first pieces of movable decorative arts in the new taste. They are the famous suite of writing desk, cartonnier (letter rack), clock and chair (the latter still missing) designed for Comte La Live de Jully about 1757, today in the Musee Conde, Chantilly. They are dark and sombre in tone, being of polished wood with massive straight legs and heavy gilt metal mounts; contemporaries understood them as being a reflection of the Classical style of the Court of Louis XIV, as evinced by the furniture maker Andre-Charles Boulle (1642-1732). By contrast the first signs of a Classical revival in Britain are generally held to be James 'Athenian' Stuart's designs for the painted room at Spencer House, London of about 1759, which are altogether lighter in feel. These comprise painted decoration in the form of pilasters and grotesques, with suggestions for Classical straight-legged furniture against the walls (17). For many British this was simply a perpetuation of their longing-standing Palladian

classicism, and visitors to France, such as Horace Walpole, were unable to understand why the French considered the gout grec to be new (18).

Though the origins of neo-classical art in Europe are still not entirely clear, it is certain that, in Paris at any rate, by the mid 1760s neo-classicism had become the dominant mode of taste for any persons with aspirations to be in fashion, and was noted as such by visitors from abroad. The Baron de Grimm, a German visitor to Paris, wrote in May, 1763, that 'for some years now the ornaments and forms of the Antique have been sought after, taste has gained considerably thereby and the fashion for them has become so general that today everything is made in the Greek manner. The exterior and interior decoration of buildings, furniture, stuffs, jewellery of all kinds, everything in Paris is in the Greek manner' (19). They soon became a mere article of fashion; Cochin himself was later to write 'At last everybody turned or attempted to turn back to the path of the good taste of the previous century, and since everything has to be twisted into a nickname in Paris it was called architecture in the Greek manner. Soon even braids and ribbons were made in the Greek manner; it remained as good taste only in the hands of a small number of people and became extravagance in the hands of all the rest' (20).

The gout grec made its first appearance in ceramics at the

royal porcelain factory of Sevres, where designers of the most fashionable taste were employed. It manifested itself first in display pieces such as vases, which could be prominently displayed as proud testimony of their owner's advanced taste. They might stand, in garnitures of three or five, on the chimney piece, or singly, on a pier table in front of a looking glass (21). This was a great deal cheaper than rebuilding one's town house or remodelling the main apartment in the new taste! Sevres developed a range of vases based on the motif of the fluted classical column, of ponderous outline and sombre dark blue colour (fig 2), which contrast with the brightly coloured and gaily decorated pot pourris which Sevres manufactured in the 1750s and early 1760s (22). The function of these new vases was not to hold flowers, fresh or dried, but to act as minor works of architecture or sculpture in themselves, embodying in miniature all the taste and ingenuity that one might find in a palace or pavilion. Such vases for display were often designed by architects or sculptors from the French Academy in Rome, who had issued their designs in sets of engravings to show off their taste and ability.

A vase christened urne antique in a restrained rococo manner had been produced at Sevres from as early as 1755 (23). However, this was presumably just a temporary fashion, and it was not

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2) Sevres vase shapes of the later 1760s (from Rosalind Savill, The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Sevres porcelain, London, 1989)

until 1761 that we encounter the first true manifestations of the gout grec at Sevres, in a version of the famous pot pourri a vaisseau with a severe neo-classical base and gilt-bronze stand (24). Another early model was a pair of wildly rococo pot pourri feuilles de mirte with a Greek key pattern base, probably modelled by the great modeller Duplessis (25). However, from 1763 onwards the factory began to produce an enormous range of vases of Classical form, which made a considerable impact on European ceramic history.

The well-known vase ferre is thought to date from a design of about 1762, possibly one of the models exhibited by the sculptor Falconet at Versailles in December, 1762 (26). This was a design in which four large oval panels are moulded as if tied to the body of the vase by clamps or rings. These provided vehicles for the painters to produce painted reserves of military or harbour scenes (fig 3). A low oval vase 'a feuilles d'acante', known from 1763 is, as its title suggests, moulded with acanthus leaves on the base (27). A version was possibly bought by the English collector Horace Walpole on a visit to Sevres with the Duke of Richmond in 1765; the decoration consists solely of a blue colour (bleu nouveau), with some gilding (28). A vase 'a batons rompus, in production by 1764, is decorated on the base with a pattern of broken or interlaced sticks (29). Vases grecs a

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3) Vase 'antique ferre' painted with a military scene. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 41 cm. Sevres, c.1765-70. Paris, Louvre

rosettes were produced from 1764. They well illustrate the ponderous nature of French neo-classicism in its early phases, with the Greek key pattern around the neck, incised straight fluting, heavy festoons, and the ungainly handles with a right-angle turn "à la Grecque". They possibly represent an unsuccessful attempt by Jean-Claude Duplessis to accommodate himself to the exigencies of the neo-classical style (30); an ungainly garniture of five dates from 1764 (figure 4). Another, more attractive, set of vases are the vases à jet d'eau, and vases avec des cygnes possibly designed by Duplessis around 1765 (31). They are essentially a neo-classical reworking of the vases pots pourris fontaines that he had designed in the 1750s, with broken columns replacing the curved body of the earlier vases. A set from the collection of the wife of Louis XV has recently been acquired by the Louvre (32).

Though Duplessis was still head of the modelling studio, some of the new designs may be due to the sculptor Etienne-Maurice Falconet (1716-91), who was in charge of the artistic direction at Sevres until 1766 (33). In 1763 he was praised specifically for the new shapes that he had invented (fig 5)

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4) Group of five vases in the neo-classical taste, the smaller pair datemarked for 1764. Height, 53.8 to 38 cm. Photograph courtesy of Antique Porcelain Company, London.

5) Vase in the neo-classical taste, probably designed by E.M. Falconet. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours with a scene of Pygmalion after a group by Falconet and gilt. Height 46.5cm. Sevres, c.1765-70. The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor, England

(34). The artistic adviser Bachelier took over Falconet's responsibility for sculpture in 1766 and in the annual lists of new models for vases during the period 1765 to 1768 six were specifically attributed to him. In turn he relinquished responsibility to the sculptor L.S. Boizot in 1773, who continued up in post until 1800. Since it is difficult to link models listed in the factory records to existing models, there is often an element of doubt as to their designer.

Many of these early vases are quite rare and one must assume that their ponderous nature made them commercial failures. Rather more attractive are the vases Danemark a godrons of 1764 in which neo-classicism appears in a lighter vein. They were copied from a book of designs by the sculptor J.J. Saly which he published in Rome in 1746. The most famous examples are the garniture painted on both sides which were sold from the factory with a vase a ruban on the 12th November, 1765; these appear to correspond to a garniture in the collection of the Duke of Richmond at Goodwood, who visited the factory on that day (35). Other popular vases included the vase a panneaux of about 1766, possibly designed by Falconet, and the vase a glands of about 1768 (36). These latter especially seem to have been made with the intention of exhibiting some finely painted panel in reserve, an increasingly important preoccupation as neo-classicism developed.

Falconet seems also to have been behind a major stylistic



change in figure modelling at Sevres, leading to the production of biscuit figures that no longer imitated sugar sculpture but full-scale classical or classical-style sculpture. This presumably reflects his own interest in producing small-scale decorative marble sculptures for the drawing room rather than the garden or the sculpture gallery (37). Naturally some copied his own full-scale models (fig 6); these figures now seem to have had a dual function, acting either as small-scale decorative features for room decoration, often under glass, or as major centrepieces for dessert or table decoration that grew increasingly didactic as time went on (38).

Vases for mounting in ormolu seem also to have been a specialty of Sevres. In 1767 and 1768 Sevres was reproducing the shapes of Oriental porcelains for mounting, but they soon produced their own shapes which apparently were sold to marchand merciers such as Poirier and Dulac, although the dealer Daguerre is known to have supplied his own models. Favoured ground colours were green, turquoise-blue or dark blue (39). Such objects were often purchased by fashionable Englishmen in Paris (40). The list of Sevres vase forms and types of decoration for the period 1765-1780 seems almost endless; suffice it say that their prestige seems to have spread throughout Europe, and they were copied by

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6) Figure of Cupid as L'Amour Menacant. Soft-paste porcelain, unglazed, on a stand painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 30.4cm. Sevres, 1761-63. The Wallace Collection, London

many of the major porcelain factories and bought by clients from all over the world. In particular, numerous English clients are recorded in the factory registers for the period 1768 to 1776 (41). The vases functioned to show the dominance of French taste throughout Europe in this period and started a fashion for heavy chimney piece garnitures which lasted well into the 19th century.

Neo-classicism took correspondingly longer to affect the design of whole dinner services, where modifications in modelling would have to be made to every item in the service. The first signs of neo-classicism in table wares were in the individually decorated ecuelles of the 1760s, where the painter Thevinet was adept at adding elegant border decoration in the neo-classical taste, and in the enamelled decoration of certain table-services, such as the Service avec Petits Vases et Guirlandes delivered to the King's mistress, Madame du Barry, in 1771. Here the border design of garlands and vases may be due to the painter Augustin de Saint-Aubin (42). However, the old rococo forms of Duplessis continued to dominate manufacture of table-services to the end of the century, although he modified his designs for tureens decorated with classical features such as husks of corn in about 1775 (43).

The great impetus for change in dinner services came when Catherine the Great of Russia ordered a service from Sevres in 1776. Her agent, Prince Grigori Potemkin, wrote that the service

should be 'in the best and newest style, with Her Majesty's monogram on every piece' and 'without any deviation from antique models, with reproductions of cameos' (44). The resulting table service is one of the great triumphs of table manufacture, although few today would want to reproduce its style exactly. It comprises a range of plates and bottle-coolers, wine-glass coolers, ice-cream pails, and other items for the dessert, all modelled in the new taste with straight sides and cameo decoration. The body was of soft-paste, although the secret of hard-paste had been discovered at Sevres in 1769, as this was the only basis for the bleu celeste ground colour which was required.

We can trace the history of this service in some detail. A document was prepared to explain how the commission was to be tackled, which explicitly rejected the style of Meissonier and La Joue (45). Great care and ingenuity was expended on such a prestigious service, and the plates were redesigned eight times before they gained Catherine's approval. It was intended for sixty people, with a centrepiece of ninety-one biscuit figures centred on a bust of Minerva (representing the Empress) surrounded by the muses sculpted by the sculptor Boizot, who had already worked for Catherine in 1769. The cameo decoration was applied by two entirely new processes. In some cases it was produced by the new technique of transfer-printing and overpainted, a technique which had been introduced at Sevres by Nicolas-Pierre Berthevin who had worked with transfer-printing

from 1765-69 at the Swedish faience factory at Marieberg. But on the seaux a bouteille and the seaux a glaces (fig 7) (glass-coolers and ice cream coolers) and large sugar bowls the cameos were actually made out of inlaid porcelain of two layers of paste, the lower a dark reddish colour with a marbled effect, the top white which was ground down in the usual manner of cameos, a workshop being specially set up in Paris for the purpose, which moved to Sevres in 1778. Not surprisingly, the cost of the service was extremely high, and the cost of a seau a bouteille alone came to 1,956 livres (about #81.10s), of which the cameo heads cost 384 livres. The whole service was inspected by Louis XVI on the 20th May, 1779, and reached St.Petersburg via Rouen in October of that year. Catherine seems to have been dilatory in paying the bills, in the end, she seems to have paid only about 245,168 livres (about #10,215) for the service, which would have represented a loss for the factory, as items such as the seau a bouteille were sold for less than their cost price (1,260 livres instead of 1,956 livres).

#### Developments in England

The English porcelain factories, though similarly obsessed with the need to provide a wide range of neo-classical vases,

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7) Icepail. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 23.7cm. Sevres, 1778. The Wallace Collection, London

seem to have been more restrained and conservative in their taste. They lacked the fashionable in-house designers that existed at Sevres, and were much more dependent on published designs for ideas and inspiration. Here the market for what was essentially chimney piece decoration was catered for by the great porcelain factory of Chelsea, and in pottery by the up-and-coming factory of Wedgwood. Both were in competition with makers of chimney piece decoration in other materials, such as the metalworker Matthew Boulton of Birmingham, who specialized in sets of vases in polished stone, such as Derby Bluejohn, mounted in elegant gilt-bronze mounts, and items made in the new fashionable (and durable) baked ceramic material of coade stone, made at Mrs. Eleanor Coade's factory at Lambeth, established in 1769 (46). Both the products of the factory at Chelsea, run by William Duesbury of Derby, and Wedgwood's work in Staffordshire are documented by two remarkable survivals of business correspondence; that of William Duesbury and his son of the same name with his London agent, Joseph Lygo, preserved in Derby Public Library, and that of Wedgwood with his London agent Thomas Bentley, which survives in the Wedgwood archives at the University of Keele. Both sets of correspondence are invaluable in tracing the day-to-day development and running of a fashionable ceramic factory in response to changes in taste in late 18th century England.

The factory at Chelsea had been taken over in 1769 by

William Duesbury, the independent decorator who had been proprietor of the Derby factory since 1756. He ran the Chelsea factory concurrently with the factory at Derby until 1784, when the Chelsea factory was closed down and the remaining stock and wares were sold. He seems to have been instrumental in introducing new shapes and styles of decoration to the ailing factory, at which there appears to have been little development since Sprimont grew ill in the early 1760s. He seems to have begun his direction by decorating a number of Chelsea rococo vases with painting in the neo-classical taste, such as decoration copied from the Paris edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses of 1768-1771, whose elegant neo-classical designs were used by a number of ceramic factories throughout Europe (47). These are listed in the 1771 auction catalogue, which also includes some vases which are clearly straight copies of recent Sevres shapes. In 1771 as well he opened new show premises in Bedford Street, Convent Garden, London, which presumably showed his new range of ornaments in the neo-classical taste, as evinced on his trade card (fig 8). The Chelsea sale catalogue of March 1773 lists a large number of new shapes, including 'an Extensive Variety of Ornamental and Useful Articles./Those for Ornament are principally Designs after the Antique, representing Tripods, Altars, Urns, Jars, &c, embellished with beautiful Devices, elegantly enriched, and particularly adapted for the Decoration

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8) Engraved trade card of William Duesbury's premises in Covent Garden, c.1773

of Chimney Pieces, Cabinets, Toilets, &c.' (48).

We have little direct evidence for the names of the modellers of these items, but some of the new designs may have been modelled by the sculptor John Bacon (1740-99). He had formerly worked for the porcelain manufactory at Vauxhall, occupied in painting on porcelain and forming shepherds, shepherdesses and suchlike ornamental pieces. In around 1764-65 he designed his trade card in an accomplished rococo style, but he is also thought to have been the leading supplier of neo-classical models to William Duesbury in the period 1769-71, many of which were probably of his own invention, such as the pedestals of sphinxes linked by festoons. By 1771 he was working for Mrs. Eleanor Coade's Artificial Stone Manufactory at Lambeth, and some idea of his classical style can be gauged from the illustrations in their catalogue of 1777-79, which show a range of vases and pedestals embellished with ram's masks, bucrania, paterae, vitruvian scrolls and acanthus leaf ornament (49).

Duesbury seems to have commissioned from Bacon a new range of vases based on printed designs. These have recently been shown to derive from engravings from the school of Raphael of the 16th century, through to vase types designed by French classical designers of the 17th and 18th centuries. A pair of vases in the Victoria and Albert Museum are derived from engravings after Raphael's pupil Polodoro da Caravaggio (50), and other designs

were taken from the groups of French designers working on Rome in the 1740s and 50s, including those of Edme Bouchardon (1698-1762), including a design for a vase with a river-god handle and spirally-fluted neck (51), and Jacques Joseph Saly (1717-76) (figs.9,10), whose design of an egg-shaped vase with two facing sphinxes acting as handles on the top appears in a pair of Derby vases on the Long Gallery chimney piece at Syon House, Middlesex, neatly contrasting with the Greek vases ranged above the bookcases above them. Such vase types were certainly in production by 1773, and appear on Duesbury's trade card of about this time (52).

An important development at Derby production were figures in unglazed 'biscuit' porcelain, in imitation of those made at Sevres and Tournai. They first appear in the Derby sale catalogues for 1771. The best known are derived from prints after the famous woman artist Angelica Kauffmann (1741-1807), including a famous group of 'Three Graces' copied from a print published in 1776 (figs 11,12). A well-known group of George III and his

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9) Jean-Jacques Saly (1717-76). Design for a vase.

10) Vase on stand. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Derby, c.1773. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (C.180-1987)

11) William Wyland, after Angelica Kauffmann. The Three Graces Adorning Pan. Stipple Engraving, 1776



family after Zoffany is probably modelled by Bacon, as it is stylistically similar to his marble bust of the King. It is noticeable that such groups were more expensive in biscuit than enamelled, since the body had to be perfect. However, we should beware of thinking of all later 18th century Derby production as purely neo-classical, as the auction catalogues testify to the endless groups of shepherds and shepherdesses, and putti in the rococo style. Some of these may have been by the Tournai modeller Nicolas Gauron, who was recommended to Duesbury by Thomas Morgan in 1770 and was employed by the factory by 1773. He probably modelled some of the charming biscuit groups with putti, such as two groups of the Elements, or Four Cupids as Sportsmen. His work for the firm seems to have terminated in about 1774 (53).

Derby continued to make biscuit figures, with a revival of energy coming in the later 18th century (1784-90) due to commissions and encouragement from the London-based royal clock-maker Benjamin Vuilliamy. William Duesbury I had by now died and Vuilliamy seems to have played a 'caretaker' role over the artistic direction of the firm, writing to William Duesbury II on May 31, 1784, that he had seen both French figures (presumably from Sevres) and your figures laid out on a dessert at a Grand Ball in London, and the French were decidedly superior (54). There is mention of figures by Bacon's assistant, John Deare, who

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12) Group of 'The Graces Adorning Pan'. Unglazed (biscuit) porcelain. Height 27.9cm. Derby, c.1776. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

had won a prize from the Royal Academy in 1780 and may have contributed to many of the decorative items sent out by his master, including a large clock by Vulliamy, decorated with biscuit figures from Derby, inscribed designed by Benjamin Vulliamy, clockmaker to the King (fig 13) (55). These works are all in a somewhat frigid neo-classical style, with few concessions to popular taste. Works of greater charm were supplied by the Swiss modeller J.J.Spaengler (1755-), who modelled a range of figures of sentimental character, often of shepherds and shepherdesses, from about 1790 until his dismissal in 1795 (56).

Developments in neo-classical design were picked up by a number of other porcelain factories and decorators in London, and rapidly spread through all the factories, although never totally dominating total output. The London decorator James Giles appears to be responsible for a large number of items of Worcester porcelain, mostly teawares, decorated with festoons of husks and paterae in black enamel, a design which also appears on items of glassware attributed to him (57). His designs are symptomatic of the way in which the neo-classical fashion moved from large vases for display (to which it could claim some historical links) through to modern fashions such as tea and coffee drinking. The Frenchman Francois De La Rochefoucauld

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13) Astronomy clock by Benjamin Vulliamy (1747-1811), the case of biscuit porcelain. Height 46.35 cm. Derby, 1785.

commented on the English habit of tea-drinking in 1785, adding that it provides the rich with an opportunity to display their magnificence in the matter of tea-pots, cups and so on, which are always of the most elegant design based upon Etruscan and other models of antiquity. It is also the custom for the youngest lady of the household to make the tea (58).

One of the most innovative factories for neo-classical design was the hard-paste porcelain factory at Bristol, which used china clay found in Cornwall. It had moved from Plymouth in about 1770. Under the proprietorship of Richard Champion many of its products were decorated in an austere classical style, with festoons linking cameos in the style of the Sevres dinner service for Madame du Barry of 1771. Champion also made some very fine figures, including two groups of figures of the Elements and the Seasons, which he commissioned from an unknown modeller who had worked for the Derby factory, possibly Pierre Stephan or John Bacon. They are of great interest in that the text of the letter from Champion survives, explaining how he wants the figures to be in classical garb (fig 14) (59). He also made a number of small oval biscuit plaques with coats-of-arms in high fired porcelain as gifts to prominent patrons and influential politicians. However, Champion was in the event unsuccessful, and had to sell the factory by 1780, as his patent on the use of Cornish white

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14) Figure of Fire from a group of The Elements. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Bristol, c.1775. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

clays had been restricted to porcelain only by one of the great potters of the age - Josiah Wedgwood.

We have already encountered Wedgwood as the leading pottery maker in Staffordshire in the early 1760s, where he was a leading proponent in the development of coloured glazes and a finer earthenware for everyday use, with which he had achieved great success. These would have been for a strictly middle-class market, and Wedgwood seems at this stage to have been content to follow taste and fashion, never to initiate it. However, over the course of the next ten or twenty years he developed a new range of techniques and designs which made him the leading ceramic manufacturer throughout the whole of Europe.

The basis of Wedgwood's success lay in two things: his ability to refine pottery in such a way so that the body became acceptable to the upper classes, and secondly, his attention to design and marketing so that his wares were sought by fashionable society throughout Europe. He was greatly aided by the regularity of neo-classical ornament, which meant that he could take advantage of new techniques such as engine-turning, whereby grooved and incised ornament is applied to a round body by means of a lathe. Although he is perhaps the first manufacturer of whom we can talk of a 'mass market', it is a fallacy to suppose that he achieved his success by offering his goods more cheaply than other manufacturers; his products were

offered to the rich first - at higher prices - before he sought a more middling market (60). His success lay in gauging fashionable taste at any one time and then creating products which mirrored the perceived social need.

This success was achieved through the help of his London agent, the Liverpool merchant Thomas Bentley. They had first met in about 1762, when Wedgwood was lain up in Liverpool owing to a riding accident (61). Bentley was, like Wedgwood, a dissenter, but better educated and in touch with metropolitan fashion. Wedgwood maintained a showroom in Liverpool, which sold lesser items (62), but also opened a showroom in London for grander wares in Charles Street in 1765, which moved to larger and more extensive premises in Great Newport Street in 1767, and finally on to Greek Street in 1774 (63). In 1767 Wedgwood and Bentley drew up an agreement, to divide decorative or 'ornamental' wares between them, the domestic or 'useful' wares being sold on Wedgwood's behalf, which became official in 1769 (64). Bentley wrote more or less weekly to Wedgwood, keeping an eye on Wedgwood's decorating works at Chelsea, which ran from 1771-74, and commenting on taste in the capital, and in turn received Wedgwood's news of developments at Burslem. This partnership lasted till Bentley's death in 1780, when their stock was auctioned, and led to the development of Wedgwood as a manufacturer of world importance. Their correspondence (of which only Wedgwood's half survives) is a fascinating insight into the

sale and marketing of fashionable ceramics in the 18th century.

The partnership produced a wide variety of ornamental goods, chiefly designed as room and chimneypieces decoration. The most important product was vases in the neo-classical taste, which was a direct response to what Wedgwood called the vase madness which affected Britain in the later 1760s; Bentley wrote to him in May, 1769, that Vases was all the cry in London (65). The first Wedgwood vases, dating from the mid 1760s, seem to have been some rather cumbersome examples made in the pale earthenware body subsequently to be called creamware, which Wedgwood was developing at that time (66). They were in a vaguely Palladian style, with heavy Vitruvian scrolling which suggests little of the subsequent elegance of his products. They did not remain long in his repertory, being soon superseded by vases of more elegant design (67).

Wedgwood soon developed a more successful range of vases imitating marbles and coloured stones using the traditional Staffordshire techniques of coloured clays, or decorated with coloured slips, in imitation of stone or marble. Granite was imitated by applying powdered oxides onto the surface, a product which Wedgwood called pebble ware (68). In partnership with Bentley he made a wide range of regularly-shaped oval vases, the bodies in imitation of polished stones, sometimes with the addition of a medallion in the classical taste, and always

monumental in effect (fig 15). The handles of these vases are almost invariably gilded, imitating the gilt-bronze handles applied to mounted stone vases of the kind made by Matthew Boulton of Birmingham, with whom, in 1768, Wedgwood had talks on possible collaboration, but without result (69). Such gilding was to prove unpopular, and Wedgwood reduced the amount of offensive Gilding in response to suggestions from Sir William Hamilton in 1772 (70).

The most important of Wedgwood's early achievements in vase production was the perfection of the black body, which he called basalt. This was also a traditional Staffordshire product, called 'Egyptian black', made from 'car', a sediment from the drainage of coal deposits, which turned black in the kiln. These items could imitate the shapes of 'Etruscan' or Greek vases which were being excavated in Italy and had become so fashionable, principally through the publication of D'Harcenville's Collections of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities from the Cabinet of the Hon. W. Hamilton (1767-76) (71). The first such items were put on the market in 1768, unpainted vases which Wedgwood himself christened 'Etruscan'.

On June 13th, 1769, Wedgwood opened a new factory on a site

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15) Group of vases, with decoration in imitation of agate and granite. Cream-coloured earthenware, decorated in coloured glazes and gilt. Height of tallest 17cm. Staffordshire, Wedgwood and Bentley, 1769-80. The British Museum, London

north of Stoke that he christened Etruria, whose name itself suggests a return to a classical past. On that day he threw six classically formed black basalt vases, while Bentley turned the wheel. These vases were painted with Greek style decoration, for whose manufacture Wedgwood had taken out a patent, which he christened encaustic after the description of the Comte de Caylus (72). However, as Wedgwood knew, this was not the true Greek manner (which was dependent on allowing air into the kiln during the firing to affect differently coloured slips), but a decoration in matt colours, where the red colour was painted directly onto the surface of the black basalt, allowed to dry, and then shaded, and then fired again. These vases were painted with copies from plates in Hamilton's vases and inscribed on the reverse: JUNE XIII .M.D.CC.LXIX./One of the first Days Productions/at/Etruria in Staffordshire,/by/Wedgwood and Bentley (fig 16). The vase is in the form and painted with a scene copied from plate 129 of Hamilton's vases.

However, relatively few of Wedgwood's vases were simple copies of vases surviving from Antiquity. Most are derived from recent models or prints, in the manner of vases made at Sevres or Derby. Wedgwood himself felt himself to be in competition with Sevres, since he had copies made of the Duke of Richmond's Sevres porcelain in 1768 (73). He had learnt of these directly

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16) 'First day' vase. Black stoneware (basalt), painted with 'encaustic' painting. Height 25.5cm. Etruria, factory of Josiah Wedgwood, 1769. Wedgwood collection, Leith Hill Place, Surrey



from Boulton, who, in March, 1768 was able to write to Wedgwood about developments in the mounting of vases in Paris (74). In general he seem to have wanted to create a fashionable style appropriate to the bodies that he had devised and anticipated the thrill of beating the French at their own game, as in 1769, when he had discovered to his amazement that the French had renounced the rococo style - what he called frippery - and were favouring the neo-classical style (75). By November, he was having drawings made of Sevres vases in the possession of the china dealer Thomas Morgan and Lord March (76). However, Wedgwood's partner Bentley was critical of the French style when he visited the Sevres factory in 1776, and wrote that they have an immense number of ornamental vases, highly enriched with enamel and burnished gold; and among several hundreds there may be about half a dozen very elegant forms. All the rest are neither antique nor gothic, but barbarous beyond conception (77).

Wedgwood dedicated a lot of research to the different types of vases to be made, clarifying, with the help of the architect Sir William Chambers, the distinction between 'vases' and 'urns', urns being more monumental and lacking handles (78). His letters to Bentley of the later 1760s testify to his relentless search for new vase types, as well as a show room in which to display them (79). A great number of these vase shapes were derived from prints by French designers of the 17th and 18th centuries in the classical tradition, which, as we have seen, were also used at

Derby. The vase with a handle in the form of a fish tail (fig 17) appears to be derived from a print after Jacques Stella (1596-1657), whose volume of vase designs, published in 1667, was much plagiarized by Wedgwood (fig 18). It appears in a list of books in his possession on the 10th August, 1770, and on the 22nd August he wrote to Bentley: 'I am glad you have met with such as Treasure in Stella, & shall be glad to have it here for our edifications'. This seems to have led to the 'our making Stella's ewers', presumably the fish tailed ewer, of which he writes on 3 September, 1770. Like Duesbury at Derby, he also copied designs by Joseph Francois Joseph Saly (1717-1776) and Edme Bouchardon (1698-1762), whose work had been pirated by the English engraver Vivares in 1771. Both Derby and Wedgwood were to copy a Bouchardon design of a vase with a clam-shaped base with mermaid handles in black basalt, transforming the mermaids into mermen.

Wedgwood clearly had great success with these basalt wares; a garniture of five black basalt vases bought by Lord George Sackville from Wedgwood and Bentley in 1774 is still in place on the chimney-piece of the dining room of Drayton House, Northamptonshire (80). A remarkable collection of painted black basalt and marbled ware vases and chimney ornaments survives in the palace of Woerlitz, near Dessau in Germany. This was

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17) Vase. Stoneware, with marbled decoration and gilt. Height 31.3cm. Staffordshire (Wedgwood and Bentley), 1773-80.

18) Title page from the Livre de Vases by Jacques Stella, Paris, c.1667

finished in 1773 with a English garden, and the vases were presumably acquired soon after that date. They are ranged on the chimney piece in grounds of three or five, or even, in the dining room, on plaster brackets on the wall in the manner of placing Oriental porcelain one hundred years earlier (81).

Another source of designs for Wedgwood was ready-made models and casts from professional suppliers. The sculptor John Bacon was also by 1769 supplying neo-classical models to Wedgwood, and continued to do so until at least 1777. Wedgwood had also attempted to buy models from model supplier Mrs. Landre as early as 1769. However, the most famous of all mould suppliers was the workshop of the sculptor John Cheere, whose premises were on the corner of Hyde Park and one of the first sights to greet a traveller to London. Here he sold statuary in lead or plaster, the latter sometimes bronzed to look like metal. The works were by a variety of artists, old and new, including Cheere himself. In 1774 he sold Wedgwood four plaster busts of Shakespeare, Plato, Aristotle and Homer at 10/6 each, intended, with true Greek vases, to act as decoration above library bookcases, where they added to the serious nature of the room. Wedgwood went on to make purchases from his former employees James Haskens and Benjamin Grant in 1774, 1775, and 1779 of busts of Addison, Chaucer, Congreve, Horace, Jonson and Swift (fig 19)

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19) Bust of Jonathan Swift. Black stoneware (basalt). Staffordshire, factory of Josiah Wedgwood. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

Wedgwood was always conscious of the rivalry with other manufacturers, most obviously Matthew Boulton of the Soho works in Birmingham, as well as works by the jeweller James Cox and the products of the Derby factory. Boulton's polished stone vases in ormolu mounts had become so fashionable that Queen Charlotte asked him to replace the china vases on her bedroom chimneypiece with his own in 1770, a key date in the progress of the classical revival in Britain. However, he was not a commercial success, and began to wind down productions after 1773, when the rage for chimneypiece ornaments amongst the aristocracy had run its course (83), thus leaving the field open to Wedgwood.

By 1770 Wedgwood was nearly 4000 pounds in debt, caused mostly by the enormous stock of items held in London, Etruria and Liverpool. The partnership of Wedgwood and Bentley was thus something of a gamble, its success being dependent on their ability to persuade the rich to accept their pottery wares in preference to porcelain or mounted polished stone. In 1772 Wedgwood began a Price Book of Workmanship, itemizing the exact expenditure on the making of each item, and in turn the debt led to Wedgwood to consider advertising. In 1773 Wedgwood issued his first catalogue, which itemized all the models available from his stock.

The partnership of Wedgwood and Bentley also made a wide variety of smaller items to tempt the jaded appetites of the rich. Many such works are listed in the first Ornamental Catalogue of 1773, including an inkstand of novel construction, the first illustrated catalogue of shapes published by a ceramic manufacturer. Wedgwood was also developing other bodies and by 1775 he had developed a version of the hard red Staffordshire stoneware, which he christened rosso antico, whose extreme vulgarity reminded him of earlier Staffordshire teapots (84). More popular colour were the light fawn-coloured wares, which were later issued as caneware, which was used for a variety of small, decorative pieces, including a teapot in the form of bamboo leaves based on a Chinese design. However, this body was not perfected by Wedgwood until about 1787, after Bentley's death in 1780, using local yellow clays, rather than trying to tint the body (85), and was then used for imitations of pie-crust in tureens (86). He also seems to have developed a fine white ceramic akin to porcelain (87).

However, Wedgwood's great contribution to ceramic design and usage was arguably his creamware, which was especially useful for table or 'useful' wares, which he produced independently of Bentley. This was a light coloured earthenware covered in a clear lead-glaze made in Staffordshire from the 1740s onwards; in France it was known as faience fine and the subject of import regulations from the 1740s. Wedgwood was able to refine the body

and produce wares that were accepted by the nobility and gentry instead of porcelain, mainly through the use of the Cornish white clays for which Richard Champion of the Bristol factory held the patent in porcelain production, the subject of much parliamentary dispute with Wedgwood.

Creamware was in production from as early as 1763, when Wedgwood described it as a species of earthenware for the table, quite new in its appearance, covered with a rich and brilliant glaze bearing sudden alterations of heat and cold, manufactured with ease and expedition, and consequently cheap having every requisite for the purpose intended (88). However, he continued to try to improve the body, writing in 1765 to Sir William Meredith of Liverpool, that he would delay making things to be made of better materials, which I hope to have ready sometime this summer (89). Creamware was light, strong and pleasant to handle. It soon swept the British and then the world market, and in July 1765, the Duke of Bridgewater ordered the completest Table service of the Cream colour that I could make (90), and Lord Gower praised Wedgwood's creamware dinner services to a dinner guest, saying that nothing of the sort could exceed them for a fine glaze etc (91). Wedgwood was especially keen to develop the export market and on March 2nd, 1765 wrote to Sir William Meredith that The bulk of our particular manufacture you know is exported to foreign markets...& the principal of these markets are the Continent & islands of N.America. To the

Continent we send an amazing quantity of white stone ware & some of the finer kinds, but for the Islands we cannot make anything too rich & costly (92).

It is thought that also in 1765 he was the only potter prepared to execute a complete sett of tea things, with a gold ground and raised flowers upon it in green which no-one else would undertake for Queen Charlotte, wife of George III (93); in 1765 he was able to send the Queen two setts of Vases, Cream-colour engine-turned, and printed (94); presumably these were some of the earliest vases, mentioned above. It would appear that soon after he christened the ware Queen's Ware (95), and launched a ceramic body whose supremacy in the world markets would remain unchallenged for nearly fifty years.

Wedgwood was insistent that complete table services should be laid out in his showrooms at Great Newport Street, and it is as well to look at the composition and arrangement of an English dinner service at this time. Britain still followed the French practice of laying out all the dishes of the different courses at the same time, in the style called a la francaise. The tablewares of Sevres still reigned supreme on the international market, and Wedgwood was canny enough to adapt their shapes for his wares for the dinner table. This he did by arranging to borrow items from the great service that Louis XV had presented to the Duke of Bedford, for in October 1765 he took moulds from a

set of french china at the Duke of Bedford's worth at least  
(1500, the most elegant things I ever saw (96). Wedgwood was  
selective in his copying of these shapes, and seems to have  
concentrated on the tureen and stand, glass-cooler and custard  
cup (97), as there was no particular English precedent for the  
serving of wines that were iced or chilled (98). He was still  
looking to the fashionable material of porcelain to provide a  
lead for the shapes of the pottery that he was making, and in  
1765 he also copied a Meissen dessert service belonging to Sir  
William Meredith in that year (99), and in 1767 wrote of a  
service of feather edge (100), suggesting that he was copying  
Chelsea shapes. In 1767 Wedgwood himself was commenting that the  
demand for this sd. Creamcolour, Alias, Queen's Ware, Alias,  
Ivory, still increases It is really amazing how rapidly the use  
of it had spread almost over the whole globe, & how universally  
it is liked. He goes on to say that its use had spread to the  
British in India (101).

The earliest creamwares seem to have been sent for  
decoration to the Liverpool transfer printers John Sadler (1720-  
89) and Guy Green (retired 1799). These were printed in red and  
black and even purple (102). There survive a great variety of  
attractively printed wares with decoration in the rococo mode, of  
which the tablewares printed with shells in green are the best  
known. However, Wedgwood developed the style of the shapes more  
and more in the neo-classical mode. In September, 1769, that he



wrote of the need to simplify, and that as a first essay I have discarded the twiggen and flower'd handles from the Terrines, & everything except the baskets, where I think their apparent lightness & real strength will induce me to retain them, and was comparing his [dessert] baskets advantageously to those from Chelsea (103). In this year he also wrote of a German buyer who proclaimed the supremacy of his work abroad (104). Wedgwood was soon able to offer a range of standard shapes to his customers, with standard border patterns to chose from pattern books kept on the premises of his London showroom at Greek Street, of which copies were kept at Etruria (fig 20). He was greatly aided by the general acceptance of certain shapes for general use at the dinner table, and the composition of a dinner service, as described in the illustrated sale catalogue of 1774, comprised A service of Queen's Ware, of a middling size consisted of 2 oval dishes, 2 smaller, 2 round dishes, 2 smaller, 4 oval dishes, four [smaller], four [smaller still], 4 round dishes, 4 covered dishes, 2 terrine for Soup, 2 sauce terrine, 4 sauce boats, 2 salad dishes, 6 salts, 2 mustard pots, 4 pickle, 6 dozen flat plates, 2 dozen soup plates (105). The success of such wares was immediate and in 1783 Mrs. Papendieck, wife of a minor court official, wrote on her marriage that our tea and coffee set were of common Indian China, our dinner service of earthenware [the new creamware], to which, for our rank, there was nothing

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20) Page from a Wedgwood pattern book showing borders for creamware. The Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston.

superior, Chelsea porcelain and fine India China being only for the wealthy. Pewter and delft ware could also be had but were inferior (106).

It was at this time that British dinners took on their traditional character of meat and vegetables that we know today. Elizabeth Raffald's The Experienced English Housekeeper of 1786 illustrates the symmetrical layout of dishes for the first and second courses of a meal (fig 21,22). We see laid out for the first course 'transparent' and 'Hare' soups, which were 'removed' to make way for other dishes, and a wide variety of hams, turkey, beef, lamb and pork, surrounded by dishes of vegetables. Further evidence can be gathered from contemporary diaries, in particular that of Parson Woodforde of Norfolk, who by 1777 had acquired 'a compleat Table service of the cream-coloured ware, with some other useful things' (107). He seems to have been a parson of characteristic 18th century type, as much of his diaries consists of descriptions of his dinners! A 'very genteel' dinner of 1794 consisted of: 'First Course at the Upper End, stewed Tench, Veal Soup, best part of a Rump of Beef boiled, 2 roast [sic] Chicken and a Ham, Harrico [sic] Mutton, Custard Puddings, backed [sic] Mutton Pies, mashed Potatoes in 3. Scollop Shells browned over, Roots. 2 Dishes. Second Course. At the upper End, Rabbitts

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21) Layout of the first course of dinner, from Elizabeth Raffald's The Experienced English Housekeeper, 1784

22) Layout of the second course of dinner, from Elizabeth Raffald's The Experienced English Housewife, 1784

fricasseed, at the lower End Couple of Ducks rosted, Trifle in the Middle, blamange, Cheesecakes, Maccaroni, and small Rasberry-tartlets. Desert of Fruit mostly that sent by me to them, Peaches, Nectarines, and three kinds of Plumbs (108)".

Wedgwood's greatest opportunity for international renown came in 1773, when he was commissioned, via Lord Cathcart, the British Ambassador to Russia, to make a service for Catherine II. Wedgwood had already supplied a simple dinner service of standard shapes decorated with husks and flowers in mulberry pink, but this newer service was to be more ambitious, with specially modelled items. It was to comprise 952 pieces, each painted with a different view of a scene in the British Isles, the noblest plan ever yet laid down or undertaken by any Manufacturer in Great Britain, as he wrote to Bentley in July, 1773. Each scene was painted in what Bentley called a delicate black (in fact, grey to dark purple brown) and the borders consisted of leaf decoration containing a medallion painted with a frog in green, as the service was destined for the palace at La Grenouilliere ('the froggery', so-called after its marshy site) (fig 23). Originally Wedgwood had intended that each scene should be individually studied, and hired a professional artist, Stringer, to make drawings; however, it was clear that this was too ambitious, and he had recourse to prints and paintings lent by owners, or books

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23) Plate from the 'Frog' service. Creamware, painted in enamel colours. Length 35.5cm. Staffordshire (Wedgwood), c.1774. Beeson Collection, Birmingham, Alabama.

such as George Bickham's Beauties of Stowe (1750-6) or Sir William Chambers' Descriptions of the Garden and Buildings at Kew (1771). Most of the painting was carried out in Wedgwood's decorating studio at Chelsea. Although many of the shapes were derived from his standard repertoire, some unusual items, such as the ice pail surmounted by a figure of Winter, were made specially for the service. A glass-cooler is inscribed with the following inscription on the base: This Table and Dessert Service, consisting of 952 pieces and ornamented in enamel with 1244 real Views of Great Britain, was made at Etruria in Staffordshire at the Command of that illustrious Patroness of the Arts Catherine II, Empress of All the Russias by Wedgwood and Bentley. The service was shown at the new premises at 12/13 Greek Street in 1774. Altogether the service cost Wedgwood 2,290 pounds, of which only 51 was for the pottery itself, the rest being paid for the elaborate decoration; Catherine paid 2700 pounds by October 1774. As Wedgwood had said, his aim was not to make a vast profit, but demonstrate the capabilities of his factory to all the world (109).

Creamware came to dominate the dinner tables in not just Britain, but the whole of the Western world. It was soon copied in England by a great number of other manufacturers, who produced similar pattern books, inscribed in several languages, with which their products could be sold throughout the world. The main centres of production seem to have been Staffordshire and south

Yorkshire, in the area around Leeds (fig 24). The best known manufacturer after Wedgwood seems to have been the Leeds firm of Harley Greens and Co., which issued a pattern book in 1783, which was issued with texts in German in 1783, and French in 1785. It offered an enormous range of objects Enamel'd, Printed or Ornamental with Gold to any Pattern, also with Coats of Arms, Cyphers, Landscapes, &c. &c. The illustrations feature everything for the dinner-table, centrepieces, candlesticks, vases, as well as more utilitarian items such as a water closet pot and stool pot, as well as a cross, with Holy Water Cup, clearly the export market to Catholic countries (110). One of the specialties of Leeds creamware seems to have been the delicate hand piercing of the surface of the body, much imitated in the later 19th century. This was especially suitable for the making of dessert wares, and an illustration from the Pattern Books gives us our best surviving illustration of the symmetrical layout of these services, with heart and trapezoid shapes dishes, all surrounding central comports and tureens for fruit and jams (fig 25) (111).

Pattern books were also issued by a number of other potteries, including Dunderdale (1796) and Whiteheads of Hanley

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24) Cruet set. Creamware with enamelled inscriptions. Height 21.5cm. Probably Leeds, c.1770. Temple Newsam House, Leeds

25) Drawing of the layout of a dessert service, showing the arrangement of the differently shaped plates, with tureens in the centre for cream and jam.

(1798) (fig 26). The objects depicted in these catalogues are often virtually identical, and thus cannot always be used as guides to identifying the manufacturer. Often such items were transfer-printed with popular subjects in black by outside workshops, such as that of John Robinson, formerly employed by Sadler and Green of Liverpool, Thomas Fletcher or Thomas Baddeley, both of whom signed prints (112). English creamware marks the beginning of fashionable ceramics as a mass-produced item, where great simplification of body and style was achieved in order to maximize the market. Its influence was dominant throughout Europe and popular even in countries with a strong local ceramic tradition. Some was exported to Holland, where it was decorated, often with religious imagery, at Delft and other centres (113). Most obviously, it put many continental tin-glaze manufacturers out of business; as early as 1765 MacPherson, in the Annals of Commerce, observed that Formerly, we ate all our meat off plates made in Delf in Holland; now the Dutch generally use our Staffordshire plates (114). Arthur Young observed the effect at the Falaise fair in 1788: 'I found the quantity of English goods considerable, hard and queen's ware; cloths and cottons. A dozen of common plain plates, 3 livres and 4 livres for a French imitation, but much worse... a dozen with blue or green edges; English, 5 livres 5 sous (115)'.

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26) Page from a pattern book issued by Whiteheads of Hanley, 1798, showing the design of tureens and sauceboats.

The utilitarian body of creamware was also developed for a much more popular market by the Staffordshire pottery makers. The shapes and styles of decoration are much cruder than those made by the greater potters and indicative of a lower market. Moulded items with splashes of red or yellow decoration were made, today often attributed to the manufacturer Pratt of Staffordshire. The search for a body that could act as a substitute for porcelain continued and by the 1780s a variant of creamware, with a whiter body covered in a slightly blue-tinted cobalt glaze, had been developed called pearl-ware; Wedgwood refers to a Pearl White ware as early as 1779 (116). The blue in the body produces a brilliant white effect which, combined with the lighter body, can be extremely effective in imitating porcelain. Staffordshire potters referred to it a china-glazed, and it was often transfer-printed in blue, so that it looks (and feels) very like English blue-and-white porcelain; in this respect it is the immediate precursor of the vast quantities of blue-and-white pottery made in Staffordshire in the early 19th century.

The potters of Staffordshire also continued the making of wares in naturalistic shapes decorated in coloured glazes, but their main market now was something outside the centres of fashionable taste, and concentrated on the making of decorative figures for chimney ornament, distant relatives of the figures made by the great porcelain factories. The major makers of

figures seem to have been the brothers John and Ralph Wood II, sons of the block-cutter Ralph Wood I (1715-1772), who made a wide range of works of popular appeal. The most famous is perhaps the Toby jug, a drinking jug in the form of a stout eighteenth century gentleman seated holding a jug (fig 27). They are apparently based on a legendary drinker called Toby Fillpot (real name Henry Elwes) who is reputed to have drunk two thousand gallons of 'stingo' (a very strong ale). The earlier ones are decorated with high-temperature underglaze colours of blue, yellow, brown, green and black. The design seems to be based on a print of 1761 and was made with variations by innumerable firms in Staffordshire. Another satirical piece is the group of The Vicar and Moses, showing the vicar in church asleep above the preacher. All these works were made by a wide range of potteries in the region (117). They were presumably modelled by independent sculptors, who sold their models to a number of different potters. The best recorded of these was John Voyez, who in 1769 was working with a rival of Wedgwood's, Humphrey Palmer, producing black basalt vases in the neo-classical taste. In 1773 he issued a catalogue of intaglios and cameos...made by J.Voyez, sculptor. However, his work did not long remained on these elevated plains, and in 1788 he signed a well-known jug in the popular taste representing a rural courting couple inscribed

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27) Group of Toby jugs. Cream-coloured earthenware, painted in enamel colours. Staffordshire, c.1760-90.



'Fair Hebe', often found decorated in coloured glazes (fig 28).

Wedgwood had meanwhile been busy developing what remains to this day his best known and most successful invention, the coloured stoneware called Jasperware. This is a kind of porcelainous stoneware coloured all the way through, or just on the surface ('dip'), with applied sprigged decoration in the classical style, to reproduce the effects of carved classical cameos. It was first marketed in the form of small medallions which had the appearance of carved cameos from Antiquity. Some of the inspiration may have come from the work of the Scotsman James Tassie (1735-1799), who won a prize from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce in 1766 for his paste portrait medallions and reproductions of antique cameos. He issued a catalogue in 1775 (118), and about half the designs in Wedgwood and Bentley's first catalogue were taken from his models. Wedgwood was well aware of the rivalry with him and wrote in February, 1776, to Bentley that about competition with Tassie and Voyez: The former by making them more beautifull [sic], the latter by selling them cheaper, and carrying them to market himself (119).

Wedgwood began his experiments in the making of Jasperware in about 1771; by 1775 he was able to announce in his sale

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28) 'Fair Hebe' jug. Earthenware, painted in coloured glazes. Height 22cm. Staffordshire, c.1788. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

catalogue of that year that The Cameos will be made of a new Composition as fine as Parian marble, but infinitely more durable, with burnt-in Grounds of various Colours (120). He had managed to make cameos with blue and sea-green backgrounds, but had great problems in achieving uniformity of tone, and it was not until 1779 that he could advertise the product under its new name - 'Jasper' - in the sales catalogue of that year. At first the product was used for small items - panels for inlays and medallions with portraits - but by 1778 Wedgwood was trying to interest architects in the use of large plaques and reliefs which could be used in room decoration, for instance as inlay in chimneypieces. The range of colours, which include pale blue and lilac, are reminiscent of the colour schemes of fashionable architects such as Robert Adam (1728-92) and James Wyatt (1746-1813) in the later 18th century, and perfectly adapted to the elegant domestic taste of the late 18th century, being much lighter in appearance and less sombre than the heavy basalt vases of the early 1770s.

Wedgwood also tried to raise the standard and originality of his designs by directly employing painters and sculptors to create new models. The best-known association is that of the animal artist George Stubbs (1724-1806), who painted portraits of the Wedgwood family, and modelled two jasper plaques of a Frightened Horse and The Fall of Phaeton in 1780; Stubbs is better known for his use of unglazed creamware plaques as a basis

for enamel painting in the period 1775 to 1795, although such work is rather outside the scope of our discussion here (121). The most significant link was with the sculptor John Flaxman (1755-1826), nurtured by Wedgwood's business partner Thomas Bentley. Wedgwood has used the services of his father, John Flaxman Senior, a supplier of casts, and noted the son as a young coxcomb in 1771. However, by about 1775 the younger Flaxman was producing wax models in London on commission from Wedgwood, which were sent up to Etruria to be translated into ceramic by such distinguished modellers as William Hackwood, Wedgwood's most distinguished 'repairer'. Flaxman began by supplying cameo portraits, but by 1778 had produced the large jasper reliefs of The Dancing Hours and The Apotheosis of Homer, the latter after a design in Hamilton's vases. Bentley wrote to Hamilton in 1779 that Having modelled a large Tablet from one of the unpublished Designs in your Excellency's Collection at the British Museum which we copied from a drawing lent us by Mr. D'Harcerville, and which we consider as one of the most perfect Specimens of the present State of our Ornamental Manufactory, we could not resist the desire of presenting you with a Copy [sic] of this Work, which has come very happily thro' the fiery Trial, and which we hope you will do us the Honour to place in your Cabinet, or in some of your Apartments (122). In 1785 Flaxman supplied models for the well-known jasper chess set in medieval dress, and in 1786 reliefs of Peace Preventing Mars Opening the Gates of Janus and Mercury Uniting the Hands of Britain and France to

commemorate trade treaty of that year, which had the full backing of Wedgwood (123). However, he journeyed to Rome in 1787-94 and developed his career as a marble sculptor rather than modeller, and consequently rather falls out of our story.

Although the plaques were clearly enormously successful, it took some time to create three-dimensional works in Jasper. The first vases are supposed to have been produced for the re-opening of his Greek Street works in 1782 (124), but it was not until 1786 that Wedgwood presented a jasperware vase to the British Museum; this was presumably a form of advertisement, indicating that he had now fully mastered the intricacies of the material. The gift was the great 'Pegasus' vase, so-called from the figure of the flying horse Pegasus on its lid (fig 29). The scene is taken from Flaxman's plaque of 'The Apotheosis of Homer' from Hamilton's Antiquities. It is a magnificent achievement, an extraordinary show of virtuosity in the potter's art, and Wedgwood records in his correspondence with Sir William Hamilton that he had thought at first of sending the vase to the King of Naples, priced at 20 guineas!

Wedgwood employed a variety of fashionable artists to provide him with designs for this new material that would prove attractive to a public demanding novelty. He used the lady

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29) Pegasus vase. Lilac-tinted stoneware (Jasperware) with applied moulded decoration. Height 46.5cm. Etruria, factory of Josiah Wedgwood, 1786. The British Museum, London

artists Lady Diana Beauclerk (1724-1808) and Lady Templeton (1747-1823) to provide designs of children and play and maternal scenes called Domestic Employments, which were to have a long-life and prove popular on wares with a domestic notes, such as items for tea-drinking (fig 30). He was aware of the need to maintain high standards of modelling and employed the sculptor Henry Webber (1754-1826) to undertake a Tour or Journey into Italy for the purpose of making Models Drawings and other Improvements in the Arts of Modelling and Designing for the Benefit and Advantage of the said Josiah Wedgwood. Webber himself supplied few designs, but delegated work to a whole school of Italian modellers such as Angelo Dalmazzoni, Camillo Pacetti (1758-1826) and Giuseppe Angelini, all of whom supplied fine models in the Classical taste. Their wares are all very much in the same style and it is possible to feel that Wedgwood's modellers did not develop as artists in a way which would have brought credit to the factory. On his return to England in 1788, Webber acted as head of the modelling studio at Etruria and was later to supply models such as figure of Britannia Triumphant of 1802, very much in the taste of the late 18th century (125).

Webber oversaw the beginnings of the most famous, though not perhaps the most artistically remarkable, product of Wedgwood's

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30) Teaset decorated with scenes from Domestic Employment by Lady Templeton. Tinted stoneware (Jasperware). Width of tray 35cm. Etruria, factory of Josiah Wedgwood, c1790. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Jasperware, his copy of the Roman Portland vase (fig 31). This was a Roman cameo glass vase, today in the British Museum, which had been a prize piece in the sale of the Duchess of Portland's collection in 1786. The vase had formerly been in the possession of the great Barbereni family in Rome, until 1780, when it was sold to a Scot called James Byres who in turn sold it to Sir William Hamilton. Hamilton brought it to England in 1783, where it was seen by John Flaxman, and it was bought back by the third Duke of Portland for 980 guineas against competition from the Duke of Marlborough. Wedgwood immediately asked the Duke if he could copy it. Four years painstaking work ensued, at first under the direction of Henry Webber; the first copy was presented to Erasmus Darwin in 1789. Copies were put on public view in the Summer of 1790. It was an immediate success, and recognized as a real tour de force, but it does leave one wondering whether Wedgwood should have been concentrating his efforts on reproducing facsimiles of other works of art, rather than commissioning original designs.

Josiah Wedgwood died in 1795, leaving a son of the same name who was less successful in maintaining the firm's position as the most important ceramic manufacturer in Europe. However, Wedgwood's activities inspired a whole host of imitators in Staffordshire and contributed immeasurably to the raising of

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31) Reproduction of the Portland vase. Dark stoneware with applied decoration. Height 25cm. Etruria, factory of Josiah Wedgwood, 1786-90. Wedgwood collection, Leith Hill Place, Surrey

standards throughout the whole Staffordshire pottery industry, giving a dominance in Europe. By the time of the French Revolution, the potters of Staffordshire, taking their lead from Wedgwood, were making a wide variety of wares in every shape and form for virtually all classes of society at home and abroad. The best known of Wedgwood's imitators was John Turner and his sons at Lane End (today Longton) (126), and William Adams of Tunstall (died 1805), who made a variety of creamware and jasperware - albeit with a different recipe - mostly in blue and white, the designs frequently copied from Wedgwood. They are best known for the production of a large number of moulded utilitarian items for the kitchen, such as beer jugs moulded with hunting scenes, somewhat in the tradition of Nottingham stoneware hunting mugs. The range of subjects also included archery lessons, cock-fights, and putti disporting themselves in the more classical Wedgwood style, according to the market they were intended for. Many of these jugs are mounted with a hall marked silver rim, enabling a precise date - usually around 1790-1820 - to be given for their manufacture (fig 32). However, by this time, the influence of Wedgwood had spread abroad, and imitations of Wedgwood Jasper were available in fine Continental hard-paste porcelain, and it is to developments on the Continent that we must now return.

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32) Jug. Stoneware, with moulded decoration and a silver rim. Staffordshire, Adams, c.1800-10

1. see, for instance, the letters page of Apollo, January, 1968, pp.66-7, and April, 1968, pp.310-11
2. quoted in S.Eriksen, Early Neo-Classicism in France, London, 1974, p.25
3. quoted in M.Snodin, 'English Rococo and its Continental Origins' in Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England, London, 1984, p.33
4. L.Colley in M.Snodin, op.cit. p.15
5. M.Snodin, 1984, op.cit.
6. G.Jackson-Stops in M.Snodin (1984), p.198
7. 'on peut donner pour premiere epoque du retour d'un meilleur goust, l'arrive de Legeay'. S.Eriksen, 'Early Neo-Classicism in France', London, 1974, p.30
8. 'les caprices les plus extravagans y sont devenus l'architecture a la mode, & la plus applaudie'. Eriksen, 1974, p.35
9. S.Eriksen, op.cit., p.27, pp.233-5
10. The Splendor of Dresden, Washington, New York and San Francisco, 1978-9, p.25
11. A.Fauchier-Magnan, The Small German Court in the 18th Century, London, 1958, p.179
12. for a survey of 17th and 18th century prints of Antiquity, see L'Immagine dell'Antico fra Settecento e Ottocento: Libri di archeologia nella Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, 1983-84
13. for d'Harcenville see F.Haskell, 'The Baron d'Harcenville: An Adventurer and Art Historian in 18th century Europe', Past and Present in Art and Taste, London, 1987
14. The Long Gallery at Syon House, Middlesex, retains a collection deriving from Hamilton himself; it was built in about 1763-8 to designs by Robert Adam. On the 7th June, 1765, the 1st Duke of Northumberland wrote to William Hamilton in Naples to see if he could procure him vases or urns for the circular recesses, and 'Statues, Vases, Tripods or other Pieces of Vertu' for the round-headed arches that now contain books. G.Beard, Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England 1660-1820, London, 1981, p.151



- 15.D.Irwin, 'Winckelmann: Writings on Art', London, 1972, p.84
- 16.S.Eriksen, op. cit., p.44
- 17.D.Watkin, Athenian Stuart, London, 1982, pp.35-37
- 18.c.f.his letter from Paris in 1764: [the French] believe they make discoveries when they adopt what we have had these twenty years. For instance, they begin to see beauties in the antique, every thing must be 'a la grecque'. quoted by P.Thornton, Apollo, April, 1968, p.311
- 19.Baron de Grimm, Correspondance litteraire, 1st May, 1763, quoted in S.Eriksen, op. cit., p.264-5
- 20.C.N.Cochin, Memoires Inedits (written about 1780-90), ed. Charles Henry, Paris, 1880, pp.142-3, quoted in S.Eriksen, Early Neo-Classicism in France, London, 1974
- 21.C.Gilbert and A.Wells-Cole, The Fashionable Fire Place 1660-1840, Leeds, Temple Newsam House, 198
- 22.Small vases in the classical style had been made before, for instance in biscuit porcelain at Mennecy for the service delivered to Louis XV. However, these were for the dessert course at the dinner table, where neo-classical vases would have been peculiarly appropriate, since they imitated the vases to be found in gardens. P.Gregory, 'Le Service bleu celeste de Louis XV a Versailles', La Revue du Louvre, 1982, 1, figs 5,6
- 23.R.Savill, The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Sevres Porcelain, London, 1988, p.148
- 24.S.Eriksen, The James A.De Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Sevres Porcelain, Fribourg, 1966, pp.140-1
- 25.R.Savill, op.cit., p.198
- 26.Savill, op.cit., no.C.261-6
- 27.Savill, op.cit., no.C259
- 28.Savill, op.cit., no.c.259
- 29.Savill, op.cit., No.C.270-1
- 30.Savill, op.cit, nos.C.272-5
- 31.Savill, op.cit, nos.C.284-5
- 32.P.Ennes, 'Un vase avec des cygnes et deux vases avec des dauphins', La Revue du Louvre, 1989

33. G. Levitine, The Sculpture of Falconet, Greenwich (Connecticut), 1972
34. S. Eriksen and G. de Bellaigue, Sevres Porcelain, London, 1987, p. 113
35. The Treasure Houses of Britain, Washington, 1984, no. 409
36. Savill, op.cit., nos. C297-302 and C.310
37. see G. Levitine, The Sculpture of Falconet, Greenwich (Connecticut), 1972
38. see chapter 12
39. J. Whitehead, 'The Marchand-Merciers and Sevres', The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar [Handbook], London, 1993 pp. 36-43
40. Horace Walpole is recorded as buying an elegant Tripod of gilt Copper, in an antique Fashion, of about 4 inches high, to burn Incense, or Pastilles a bruler, at Madame du Lac's, for himself, along with beautiful Vases for a Chimney, of blew Enamel, set in gilt copper at Poirier's for John Chute of the Vyne in Hampshire, on his visit to Paris to 1765. W. Cole, A Journal of my Journey to Paris in the Year 1765, London, 1931, p. 245
41. The factory records record purchases by the china dealer Thomas Morgan (1768-71), Lord Egremont (1774), Lord Shelburne (1776) and Lady Montagu (1776). Savill, op.cit., p. 31, note 72
42. S. Eriksen, Early Neo-Classicism in France, London, 1974, p. 374
43. C. C. Dauterman, Sevres Porcelain: Makers and Marks of the Eighteenth Century, New York, 1986, pp. 18-9
44. 'sans aucun chantournement sur des modeles antiques avec des reproductions de camees'
45. 'Ce service ne pouvait etre execute sur les formes actuellement usitees a la manufacture de Sevres, quelque agreables qu'elles paraissent a des yeux accoutumes au prestige des contours que Meissonier et La Jolie introduisirent, il y a environ quarante ans, dans les ornemens de notre architecture et qui successivement passerent dans notre ameublement et notre vaisselle. Le gout sevre des anciens artistes de la Grece et de Rome bannit bientot ces formes irregulieres et baroque de notre architecture; mais l'orphevrerie y est restee assujetie pour le service de nos tables'. With this in mind the designers did careful research: 'On a rassemble parmi les originaux de l'antiquite qui ont echappe au temps ce que les artistes de la

Grece et de Rome ont produisait d'elegant dans les formes de dans les dessins; c'est dans ces recueils qu'on a fit un choix pour composer les pieces de ce service'. R.Savill, "'Cameo Fever': Six Pieces from the Sevres Porcelain Dinner Service made for Catherine II of Russia", Apollo, 116, 1982, pp.304

46. Wedgwood wrote to his partner, Thomas Bentley, in April, 1772, that 'I make no doubt of our friend Mr. Boultons things being very excellent, in contrivance & execution, & wish him every encouragement his ingenuity, spirit & industry deserve, but Mr. Cox [the jeweller, and maker of gaudy ornaments] has so far outshone him that I am afraid that he will be under some little bit of an eclipse in that respect, this season; & I am not without some little pain for our Nobility & Gentry themselves, for what with the fine things in Gold, Silver & Steel from Soho, the almost miraculous magnificence of Mr. Coxes Exhibition, & the Glare of the Derby & other China shews - What heads or Eyes could stand all this dazzling profusion of riches & ornament if something was not provided for their relief, to give them at proper intervals a little relaxation, & repose. Under this humble idea then, I have some hope for our black, Etruscan, & Grecian Vases still, & as I expect the golden surfeit will rage with higher than ever this spring, I shall almost tremble even for a gilt listel amongst your Vases, & would advise you by all means to provide a curtain immediately for your Pebble ware shelves, which you may open or shut, inlarge or diminish the shew of gilding as you find customers affected. D. Euten, 18th Century Wedgwood; a Guide for Collectors & Connoisseurs, New York, 1980, p.88

47. H. Coutts, 'A Chelsea-Derby vase and Its Sources', Derby Porcelain International Society Newsletter, 18, May, 1990, pp.22-30

48. The development of the range of types can be traced from the advertisement on the title page of the sales held at Christies: whereas the 1770 sale of Chelsea porcelain, as left by Nicholas Sprimont, lists 'Beautiful Vase, Antique, Runs, Perfume-Pots, Table and Desert Services.....', the 1771 catalogue list rather more firmly 'A Variety of Superb and Elegant Antique-Shaped VASES, URNS, ESSENCE-POTS, JARS, and BEAKERS.....'. J. Nightingale, Contributions towards the History of Early English Porcelain from Contemporary Sources, Salisbury, 1881, pp.1, 15, 42

49. T. Clifford, 'John Bacon and the Manufacturers', Apollo, 122, 1985, pp.288-304

50. T. Clifford, 'Polodoro and English Design', The Connoisseur, August, 1976, pp.282-297

51. Bouchardon's vase designs date to before 1737, when they were advertised in the Mercure de France. M. Jordan, 'Edme Bouchardon', Apollo, June, 1985, pp.388-90

52. In the 1773 auction the Derby factory sold a large antique jar and pedestal, decorated with cupids, dolphins, &c. a fine crimson ground and superbly finished with gold ( £17.17). This is clearly copied from an engraving of Premiere suite de vases antiques after the French artist Jacques Francois Joseph Saly (1717-1776). It appears to be number 2 in Duesbury's trade catalogue of 1773-4, bearing out its early date. C.B. Lippert, Eighteenth-Century English Porcelain in the Collection of the Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis, 1987, No.30

53. T. Clifford, 'Nicolas Gauron - a Virtuoso Modeller at Tournai and Chelsea', in C. Hind ed., The Rococo in England: A Symposium, London, 1986, pp.161-174

54. Savill, 1988, p.820

55. M. Savage, 'An Important Clock by Benjamin Vulliamy', Derby Porcelain International Society Newsletter, 17, December, 1989, pp.7-10

56. T. Clifford, 'J.J. Spaengler, a virtuosi Swiss modeller at Derby', The Connoisseur, 198, 1978, pp.145-155

57. R.J. Charleston, 'A Decorator of Porcelain and Glass - James Giles in a New Light', English Ceramic Circle: Transactions, 6, part 3, p.292.

58. F. de La Rochefoucauld, A Frenchman in England 1784, Cambridge, 1933, p.24

59. all these figures to be about 10 inches high, after having seen the Derby Figures. I did not recommend Ease and Elegance in the Shaped drops, but the latter I shall just mention as the Antique robes are very easy and have a Propriety which is not to be met with in foreign Drapes. He specifies the figure of Fire as A Vulcan forging a Thunderbolt in the Attitude of striking with his Anvil & Hammer, some pieces of Iron or Coals or anything peculiar to a Blacksmith's Shop to be Scatter'd about, reproduced facsimile in H. Owen, Two Centuries of the Ceramic Art in Bristol, London, 1873

60. In August, 1772, Wedgwood was writing to Bentley that The Great People have had these Vases in their Palaces long enough for them to be seen and admired by the Middling Class of People, which class we know are vastly, I had almost said, infinitely superior in number to the Great, and though a great price was, I believe, at first necessary to make the vases esteemed Ornament for Palaces, that reason no longer exists. Their character is

established, and the middling People would probably by [sic] quantities of them at a reduced price. N.McKendrick, op.cit., p.131

61.G.Blake Roberts, 'Wedgwood and Bentley - a unique alliance' The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar [Handbook], London, 1993, pp.28-35

62.Blake Roberts, 1993, p.29

63.R.Reilly, Wedgwood, London, 1989, pp.50,62

64.That W & B do enter into Partnership in making ornamental Earthenware or Porcelain viz Vases, Figures, Flowerpots, Toylet Furniture and such other Articles as they shall from Time to Time agree upon. A.Dawson, Masterpieces of Wedgwood in the British Museum, London, 1984, p.25

65.T.Cliiford, 'Some English Ceramic Vases and their Sources, Part I, English Ceramic Circle Transactions, 10, 3, 1978, pp.159-174

66.Washington, 1985, no.424

67.By January 1771, Wedgwood was sufficiently ashamed of two middle size Chetwynd Vases and 2 Orfords Cream-colour, Engine-lathed and gilt to write to Matthew Boulton, offering to replace them with Etruscan painted ones. J.V.G.Mallet, 'Wedgwood's Early Vases', Country Life, 9th June, 1966, p.1480

68.Buten, op.cit., p.57

69.Farrer, 'The Letters of Josiah Wedgwood', 1, p.233

70.Blake Roberts, 1993, op.cit., p.31

71.for d'Harcenville see F.Haskell, 'The Baron d'Harcenville: An Adventurer and Art Historian in 18th century Europe', Past and Present in Art and Taste, London, 1987

72.Buten, op.cit., p.88

73.In 1768 he had the carver John Coward make drawings of Vauzes, baskets, Dishes after the Duke of Richmond's, presumably the Sevres porcelain mentioned above. E.Meteyard, op.cit., II, p.91

74. Mr.Boulton tells me I sho.d be surprised to know w.t a trade has lateley been made out of Vases at Paris. The Artists have even come over to London, picked up all the old whimsical ugly things they could meet with, carried them to Paris where they have mounted & ornamented them with metal & sold them to the Virtuosi of every Nation, & particularly to Millords d'Anglaise.



for the greatest rarities, & if you remembr we saw many such things at L.d. Bolingbrokes which he bro:t over with him from France. Of this sort I have seen two or three old China bowles, for want of better things, stuck rim to rim which have had not bad effect but look whimsical & droll enough. KE Farrer, Letters of Josiah Wedgwood 1762-1772, 1903, pp.20-29

75. In September, 1769, he wrote: And do you really think we may make a complete conquest of France? Conquer France in Burslem?—My blood moves quicker, I feel my strength increase for the contest. Assist me my friend & the victorie is our own....Are you certain the French Nation will be pleased with simplicity in the Vessells? Either I have been greatly deceiv'd, or a wonderfull reformation has taken place amongst them. French & Frippery have jingled together so long in my ideas, that I scarcely know how to separate them, & much of their work I have seen cover'd over with ornament, had confirmed me in the opinion. Farrer, op.cit., pp.301-2, quoted in Mallet, op.cit., p.50

76. Farrer, op.cit. p.311

77. G.Blake Roberts, 'Ceramics Unsong Hero - Thomas Bentley', English Ceramic Circle Transaction, 15, 1, 1993, p.33

78. The character of Urns is simplicity, to have covers, but no handles, nor spouts, they are monumental, they may be either high or low, but shoulld not seem to be Vessels for culinary, or sacred uses. — Vases are such as might be used for libations, & other sacrificial festive & culinary uses, such as Ewers, open Vessels & c.. Clifford, op.cit. p.161

79. e.g. letters of August, 1765, and February, 1767, Farrer, op.cit., pp.51, 113

80. M.Pick, 'Ever Ascending Circles', Traditional Interior Decoration, March/April, 1987, p.31-32

81. U.Quilitzsch, Die Wofelrlitzer Wedgwood-Sammlung [group of picture postcards], Reichenbach, 1986

82. T.Friedman, The Man at Hyde Park Corner: Sculpture by John Cheere 1709-1787, Leeds, 1974

83. N.Goodison, Ormolu: the work of Matthew Boulton, London, 1974

84. Buten, op.cit., p.181

85. Buten, op.cit., p.173

86. It was much in demand in the early 19th century when restrictions on the use of flour led to a shortage of pastry in cooking and the immediate development of a pottery substitute.

The scarcity two years after Brummell's retirement (July 1800) was so great that the consumption of flour for pastry was prohibited in the Royal Household, rice being used instead; the distiller left off malting; hackney-coach fares were raised twenty five per cent. and Wedgwood made dishes to represent pie-crust. Captain Jeffs, The Life of George Brummell, Esq., 1814, quoted in B. Hillier, 'A Social History of Pottery and Porcelain 1700-1914', London, 1968, p.19

87. Blake Roberts, 1993, op.cit., p.31

88. Dawson, op.cit., p.18

89. Farrer, op.cit., 30-31 (2nd March, 1765)

90. Farrer, op.cit., p.46

91. Buten, op.cit., p.19

92. K.E. Farrer, Letters of Josiah Wedgwood 1762-1770, Manchester, 1903 [reprint], p.31

93. Dawson, op.cit., p.15

94. Farrer, op.cit., p.47

95. About 1765 Wedgwood took on an order from the Queen, because no one else would take it, for a complete sett of tea things, with a gold ground & raised flowers upon it in green, in the same manner of the green flowers that are raised upon the melons, so it is wrote but I suppose it should be melons - The articles are 12 Cups for Tea, & 12 Saucers, a slop bason, sugar dish wth. cover & stand, Teapot & stand, spoon trea [sic], Coffeepot, 12 Coffee cups, 6 plair, of handcandlesticks & 6 Mellons with leaves..., 6 green fruit baskets & stands edged with gold (). This was not creamware, as on the 26th June, 1766, he makes a pointed difference between Cargoe of Creamcolour & perhaps a little green and Gold for hot Climates (). By 18th July, 1766, he writes Pray sell all the green and gold for Pensacola, the new discover'd Islands, or where you can, for I never will take it again, so make your best of it. I am quite clearing my Wareho. of Colour'd ware, am heartily sick of the commodity & have been so long but durst no venture to quit it 'till I had got something better in hand, which, thanks to my fair Customers, I now hand & intend to make the most of it....Green desert ware is often wanted, in reality for the West India Islands. I have a few crates on hand, some gilt, some plain, Ergo - sho[ul]d be glad to part with them on very moderate terms, for the reasons assign'd above I wo[ul]d sell the 20% less than I ever sold any before () 1767: I am rejoiced to know you have ship'd off the Green & Gold - May the winds & seas be propitious, & the invaluable Cargo be wafted in safety to their destin'd Market, for the emolument of our

American Bretheren [sic] & friends (). Goes on to praise creamware. Farrer, pp.39,91,97

96.Farrer, op.cit., p.60

97.J.Mallet, 'Wedgwood and the Rococo', Proceedings of the Wedgwood Society, 9, 1975, pp.36-60

98. In February, 1767, Wedgwood wrote of items for a service for the Portuguese ambassador that Several of these items are very pretty, but am afraid they will most of them be unsuitable for your [Bentley's?] market, such as Glauciers for Brandy & spirituous Liquors, do. for wine, do. for Cream, with a long &c. of such useless Gimcracks. K.E.Farrer, Letters of Josiah Wedgwood 1762-1770. Manchester, 1903 [reprint], pp.119-120

99.Farrer, op.cit., p.42

100.Farrer, op.cit., p.119

101.Farrer, op.cit., p.127

102.it is of a paler Colour, in general, which is lik'd vastly better by every Body than the deep Yellow, and will be better in every Respect. We like the Dishes much, they are very tasty; and very shortly you shall see them grand Things  
Dawson, op.cit., p.18

103.Farrer, op.cit., pp.301-2, quoted in Mallet, op.cit., p.51

104.He was told by a German buyer, who had drawings of his wares, that they have several excellent Fayence & Porcelain manufactures...in Germany, But the English forms, & Glaze are so much superior to any of them, that the English Manufacturers...sells before them all. K.E.Farrer, Letters of Josiah Wedgwood 1762-1770, Manchester, 1903 [reprint] p.267

105.W.Mankowitz, Wedgwood, London, 1953, p.63

106.P.Walton, Creamware and other English Pottery at Temple Newsam House, Leeds, Leeds, 1976, p.69

107.J.Woodforde, The Diary of a Country Parson 1758-1802, London, 1978, p.130

108.J.Woodforde, 'Diary of a Country Parson', p.465

109.A.Kelly, 'Wedgwood's Catherine Service', The Burlington Magazine, 122, 1980, pp.554-561



- 110.D.Towner, The Leeds Pottery, London, 1963, pp.56-140
- 111.A dessert service sent by the Worcester factory to the Prince of Orange at Hampton Court in 1796 consisted of: '2 Ice pails complete, 2 Fruit baskets and stands, 2 Cream tureens and covers, 2 stand to do. and spoons, 1 centre dish and stand, 4 triangular [shaped] dishes, 4 mellon [shaped] dishes, 4 shell [shaped] dishes, 2 heart [shaped] dishes, 36 dessert plates'. The whole was 'all Blue & gold with different figures'. G.A.Godden, Chamberlain-Worcester Porcelain 1788-1852, London, 1982, p.31
- 112.P.Halfpenny, 'Creamware: Its Origins and Development', The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar [Handbook], London, 1993, p.27
- 113.J.Leonard Benson, 'Dutch Decorated English Creamware: fiction and fact', Mededelingenblad nederlandse vereniging van vrienden van de ceramiek, 137, 1990/1, pp.3-29
- 114.D.MacPherson, Annals of Commerce, (1805 edition), iii, p.430, quoted in B.Hillier, Master Potters of the Industrial Revolution: The Turners of Lane End, London, 1965, p.20
- 115.B.Hillier, Pottery and Porcelain 1700-1914, London, 1968, p.207
- 116.Buten, op.cit., p.73
- 117.P.Halfpenny, 'The Wood family', Ceramics, III, May/June, 1986, pp.118-126
- 118.J.Holloway, James Tassie 1735-1799, Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, 1986
- 119.Farrer, op.cit., pp.272-3
- 120.Buten, op.cit., p.1400
- 121.B.Tattersall, Stubbs and Wedgwood: Unique Alliance between Artist and Pottery, London, Tate Gallery, 1974
- 122.Dawson, op.cit., p.107
- 123.B.Tattersall, 'Flaxman and Wedgwood', in ed. D.Bindman, John Flaxman R.A., London, Royal Academy, 1979, pp.47-9
- 124.Buten, op.cit., p.162
- 125.B.Tattersall, 'Henry Webber: Art at the Service of Industry', Apollo, July, 1985, pp.36-42

126. The firm also made pearlware and creamware, and was big enough to employ a London agent, Andrew Abbott, with premises in Fleet Street, opened about 1783, and by 1784 they were styling themselves Potters to the Prince of Wales. Hillier, op.cit., pp. 58-59

## Chapter 12: The Spread of Neo-Classicism in Europe

The Classical style spread throughout Europe in the late 18th century, although it did not penetrate all countries to the same extent. In general, it took longer to become established in Germany than in any other European country. The strength of the rococo style in Berlin and Munich meant that a style of straight lines and right angles was more difficult for fashionable taste to swallow than in other European countries. However, once established, it was with a dominance that contrasts with the variety of taste that can be found in other countries. In general, we can say that signs of the neo-classical style were very rare in Germany before 1760, showed signs of spreading by 1770, and were in general vogue by 1780 and well-nigh universal by 1790. By this time German courts and manufactories had adopted the style with a consistency and whole-heartedness that makes the products of other countries look rather tame. The engraving by Joann Esaias (1721-88), the engraver of the charming print of the New Coffee House of the 1760s (Chapt.8), of Tearing up the Rococo (fig 1), makes the point about the severity of these changes.

There were of course isolated examples of the Zopfstil (severe style) as it was called in Germany before 1770,

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1) Johann Esais Nilson (1721-88), Tearing up The Rococo. Engraving.

presumably in imitation of fashions in Paris. The picture of The actors Clairon and Le Kain as Medea and Jason in the play "Medee" by Longepierre by Carl Van Loo (1705-1765) of 1759 hangs in a heavy neo-classical frame in the picture gallery at Sans Soucci quite at variance with the rococo frames around it (1), and Van Loo's picture of the family of the goldsmith Mueller of 1763 in the Historical Museum in former East Berlin shows a silver neo-classical vase prominently displayed. A painting of The Loveletter of 1760 by Johann E. Schenau (1737-1806) shows strict neo-classical detail in the furniture, but he was living in Paris from 1756-1768 (2). More importantly, in 1764-5 Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim (1708-1779), the prince bishop of Wuerzburg, commissioned neo-classical decoration in his palace from the Bossi brothers from Stuttgart. However, the style was restricted solely to architectural features, for as late as 1768 statuary in the gardens was modelled after Meissen porcelain figures, which were presumably considered suitable as they would have been based on garden sculpture in any case (3).

The origins of this taste for Classical art seem in part to have been a reaction against the pervasiveness of the French rococo style. The latter part of the 18th century saw the beginnings of a consistent national consciousness in Germany, and increased prosperity saw the growth of a middling, intellectual class, which had no possible allegiance, spiritual or political, to the Court of Versailles (4). Indeed, their reaction was one of

mutual hostility. As early as 1740 the Frenchman Eleazar Mauvillon published his Lettres francaises et germaniques sur les Francais et les Allemands, in which he asserted that Germans were incapable of artistic creativity (5). This brought a rapid German response. In 1746 the German Reiffstein published a polemic against rococo, making the usual criticisms of irrationality, asymmetry and departure from nature, coupled with a nationalistic and moral aspect to this degeneration: 'the decline of good taste in various arts among several of our neighbours is coupled with a decline in the decency of manners', which was clearly a criticism of the French, and his editor makes the point clear when he writes 'At this point the author touches on the true sources of these strange decorations. It is not Germany but France, the mistress of so many absurd fashions, which is the inventor of this corrupt taste. The dislocated and lopsided curvature of these decorations is also a French whim, which is rightly abhorred by several great artists in Germany, for instance by Herr Giese in Berlin'. Yet dominance of the rococo style is so strong that it would appear that Herr Giese is none other than the sculptor Giese who contributed to the flamboyant rococo decoration of Frederick the Great's palace at Sanssoucci, Berlin.

In 1759 a more considered attack appeared, when Friedrich August Krubsacius published anonymously a pamphlet entitled Thoughts on the Origins, Growth and Decline of Decoration in the Fine Arts. Here he heavily criticized the rococo style, with

satirical illustrations. A plate (fig 2) is especially devastating. What at first sight appears to be a typical rococo cartouche composed of 'rocaille' and fantastic animals turns out on closer inspection to be composed of venomous animals and rubbish (6). The greatest prophet of neo-classicism in Germany was of course the writer Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-68), who in his History of Greek Art singled out porcelain for criticism, describing it as a 'beautiful material' (schoene Materie), but claiming that it had never produced a real work of art, and that most porcelain was 'in childish taste' and was used mostly to make 'idiotic puppets', the charming little figures made for dessert services that are so esteemed today (7).

A major blow to the rococo style in ceramics was the diminution in the prestige of porcelain as a material. No longer was it the 'white gold' of the early 18th century, whose secret had been sought by all the Courts of Europe; in 1771 the Comte de Milly published L'Art de la Porcelaine in which he described the process of manufacture of hard-paste porcelain, and publicized what had once been a closely-guarded secret. The death-knell of the respect for porcelain as a material may be said to have come in 1781, when the new Superintendent of the Art Collections in Dresden (and Director of the Meissen porcelain factory) Count

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2) Friedrich August Krubsacius. Satirical decorative cartouche. Engraving, 1759

Marcolini (1739-1814) cleared out the porcelain collection in the Japanese Palace in Dresden and stored it in the cellars, replacing it with a collection of books, coins and casts, some recently acquired from Rome from the collection of the neo-classical painter Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-79) (8). A visitor who saw it in store commented that Nothing about it is true at all!, which seems to be the beginning of a long history of porcelain as a 'false' and artificial material (9).

The spread of the neo-classical style in Europe was closely related to developments in society's thoughts and behaviour. In Germany especially it became fashionable to play the philosopher, and take an interest in art and literature, in an age which saw the development of German literature in the persons of Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832) and Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) (10). The originator of the German literary revival of the later 18th century, the poet J.C.Gottsched (1700-66), insisted that Nature was the sole arbiter of all taste and actions, and, being wholly reasonable, should be sought and imitated by all educated and literary men. He was insistent that moral purpose ranked above fancy: First select an instructive moral...Then invent (11). The stress on finding a moral in things and the accompanying cult of 'Sensibility', of cultivating and expressing emotions and responses to the natural world, was also thought to lead to the result of man in his 'natural', unhampered state, freed from the fripperies and ceremonies imported from the court

of Versailles (12). The engraving by illustrator Daniel Chodowiecki (1726-180) makes clear how Classicism was seen as a return to nature, contrasting a couple in French Court dress as 'Affectation' with a semi-nude couple, reminiscent of Classical models, as 'Nature' (fig 3).

In the context of society, this approach tended to emphasize the central importance of civic duties, rather than allegiance to the person of the King and nobility, and led to rise in the prestige of the administrative and professional classes. Personal worth now depended not on noble birth but on Bildung, a mixture of education and character formation, which led to the creation of a new, bourgeois, elite. This naturally led to a diminution of the role of the aristocrat: In our era it has come about that the nobleman who is nothing else than that will be tolerated in the circle of the reputable burgher estate, the scholars, the merchants, and the artists, only by making an effort to display extraordinary humility wrote the philosopher Fichte, co-founder of German idealism, in 1793 (13). The cultural emphasis shifted from the Court, in the sense of the Palaces, ceremonies and other immediate appurtenances of the person of the Sovereign, to the State, best seen in the layout and development of towns and State institutions. This was the age of the rise of public museums and various Academies designed to mould public

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3) Daniel Chodowiecki (1726-1801). Affectation contrasted with Nature. Engravings from the Goettinger Taschenkalender, 1778



taste. These were frequently under the direction of a single artistic director who could thus impose a unified style on all buildings and royal manufactures within the State. Even the extravagant Karl-Eugen of Wurttemberg, founder of the Ludwigsburg factory, began to reform his luxurious lifestyle. He dismissed the French Comedy and reduced his troupe of ballet dancers, and instead developed the public character of his domains, founding hospitals, a public library and Museum, and Botanic Gardens in his native Stuttgart. He is best known today as the overbearing patron of the poet Schiller (14).

The strength of the changes that were taking place can be gathered from Goethe's idyll Hermann und Dorothea, which was published in 1797, and describes the effects of the French Revolution on the new middle-classes. In it, an apothecary of a small German town complains about the new taste which has deprived him of all the pleasure that he once took in his garden pavilion, in which he was wont to take coffee. The poem is essentially a lament for the rococo, with all its conceits of scale and decoration:

'Every traveller paused to look through the red-coloured trellis  
At the beggars of stone and the painted dwarfs in the garden.  
But, when coffee I served to my guests in the wonderful grotto  
-Covered with dust it is now, and nearly a ruin in my lifetime-  
Dear, how much they enjoyed the colourful sparkle of shell-work  
Beautifully set out - and even the expert was dazzled

By the gleam of the lead and by intricate corals,  
Nor did they fail to admire the painted walls of the parlour  
Where such elegant men and ladies were seen promenading  
Daintily holding or handing a flower with delicate fingers,  
True - but who would now but give it a glance; yes, I rarely  
Go there myself, for they want it different now, only 'tasteful'  
As they describe it, the trellis should be white and so should  
the benches.  
All must be simple and flush without any carving or gilding -  
Now it is the wood from abroad that is the most costly (15).

Apart from the loss of prestige for porcelain, the main problem for the German factories was probably the dominance of fashionable taste by France, represented by Sevres, and rivalry with imports of pottery, especially creamware, made by Josiah Wedgwood and other manufacturers in England. These problems were exacerbated by increasing pressure from the various governments to make their state porcelain factories produce a profit, in line with new economic theories of the value of market forces which were becoming current. The two tastes tended to stimulate a certain polarity of taste; on the one hand, a taste for lavish all-over decoration, rich ground colours and much use of gilding in the manner of Sevres, for display or ornamental items; on the other hand, a tendency to produce objects of severe or austere character, with simple decoration and much of the body of the vessel left in the white, in the manner of English creamware. The

design and decoration of much late 18th century German porcelain tends to veer between these two extremes.

Most German factories were severely affected by the Seven Years Wars of 1757-63. The Meissen factory recovered only slowly from its ravages, since Frederick the Great of Prussia had invaded Saxony and expropriated much of the porcelain in the making at the Meissen factory. He had appointed a factor, Georg Michel Helbig, who was responsible for the production of a number of dinner services, some apparently designed by the King himself (16), including one decorated with 'Vestuns' (festoons) in the Antique manner, with a centrepiece in the form of a beautiful antique vase on which two genii are to appear, designed by the great modeller Kaendler. However, this appearance of neo-classical motifs seems to have been an isolated instance, and was not immediately followed. With the coming of Peace in 1763 the factory was put under a special commission, including at first the "traitor" Helbig, who was later to be dismissed with a special payment. It was complained that the painters at the factory clung to 'modern fantasy' and neglected the 'true beauty and antique'. An Academy was set up in Meissen itself to teach drawing, which in 1764 was put under the charge of the Court-Painter Christian.Wilhelm.Ernst.Dietrich (1712-74), a friend of Winckelmann, the beginnings of the so-called 'Academic' period at Meissen. This was also the year in which both Augustus III and Bruehl died, and with them the last allegiances to the styles of

the first half of the 18th century with which the factory is so closely associated. The once-great painter and modeller Kaendler and Hoeroldt were put under him, but the latter was pensioned off in 1765, and Kaendler spent the years till his death in 1775 in an effort to complete the 'Reiterdenkmal' in honour of Augustus III.

The factory now made a determined effort to study developments in other lands. In June of 1764 a special deputation of workers from the factory set off to study porcelain factories in other parts of Germany and France. In Paris the modeller David Erlasser observed that 'the so-called Greek style henceforth has the upper hand'; and at Sevres they particularly admired the rose, green and 'bleu de roi' colours (17). They brought back with them the minor French sculptor Michel Victor Acier (1736-99), to supersede Kaendler. Acier seem to have been responsible for modelling a number of important figure groups in the style of the French engraver Moreau le Jeune (1741-1814), showing families in fashionable dress at work or at play (fig 4). He seems also to have made putti and other groups, including clocks, on neo-classical pedestals often bearing a Greek key pattern, which were much copied in the 19th century. Ground colours were developed to rival those at Sevres, and a dark blue ground imitating gros bleu was achieved soon after 1768 by the arcanist

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4) Group of The Good Mother modelled by M.V. Acier. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Meissen, c.1774

Christian Daniel Busch, who had studied at Sevres before returning to Meissen in 1765.

The factory also saw changes in management. After the so-called "Academic" period, the courtier Count Camillo Marcolini was appointed to the direction in 1774. He was responsible for the financial reorganization of the factory, reducing the workmen's wages in 1776. As at Sevres itself, the neo-classical style first made its appearance on vases and smaller items, before appearing on whole dinner services. A neo-classical pot-pourri supported by two putti by Kaendler's assistant Johann Carl Schoenheit is dateable to about 1765 (18). However, the most accessible vehicle for the new styles of decoration were the small tea-or coffee-services for one or two. Those for one or two people were called dejeuners at the time, although today the term cabaret is often used, referring to the tray on which the service is supported; those for two people have been christened tete-a-tete and those for one person a solitaire (presumably 19th century dealers' terms). Both are based on the dejeuners made at Sevres in the 1750s and were taken up by virtually all the Continental factories thereafter, and were often vehicles for fashionable taste. The vast majority of these teasetts seem to have followed a simple pattern; teapots and coffeepots, often with right-handled handles a la grec, as it was called, supplemented by cups and saucers and a tray, all with very sparse decoration of friezes of silhouettes, garlands or Classical

profile heads imitating cameos, that leaves much of the body of the porcelain in the white (fig 5). Sometimes they were sold in a leather case, making clear their gift status. They are extremely difficult to date precisely, as they seem to have been in continuous production until the end of the century. The Paris Ovid was used on a teaset at Meissen by 1775, when Richard Champion of Bristol records copying a Meissen tea-set so decorated in that year (19). A good Meissen example dating from the end of the 18th century is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and depicts scenes from Goethe's Sorrows of Werther, showing how they could become vehicles for the cult of "Sensibility" and emotion then so popular (fig 6).

Dinner-services at Meissen also eventually came under the Classical spell, though being used less for display, they tended to retain old forms longer. Patterns described as a la grecque were in use as early as 1766 (20). However, the first Meissen dinner-service that seem to have shown any real concession to the new style was the service made for the Duke of Kurland in 1774, modelled by J.E. Schoenau and M.V. Acier. It was decorated with rams' head handles and garlands, and painted sparingly with a

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5) Teaset for two (dejeuner). Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Meissen, c.1800. Porzellansammlung, Dresden

6) Tray from a dejeuner. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours with a scene from Goethe's Werther and gilt. Width 37cm. Meissen, c.1785. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1328-1871)

green ribbon mixed with flowers (fig 7). A more severe service with right-angled handles was made in 1777 and modelled by the same two for the Elector Friedrich August III of Saxony. Here the decoration was of fruit and birds surrounded by a rich blue ground (21). A Meissen service in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland shows much stylistic confusion, with gilded neo-classical rams' heads as handles, while the decoration, taken from La Fontaine's Fables of 1746 surrounded by a gilded mosaic pattern border, remains rococo in spirit (22).

The more serious nature of neo-classicism even had its impact on the dessert service, which up to now had been a fairly light-hearted display, to contrast with the heaviness and formality of the first two courses. Porcelain figures of the kind which Winckelmann decried were not abolished, but were regimented into complete allegorical displays based on certain metaphysical meanings, designed to instruct and educate rather than delight. A Frauenzimmer-Lexicon of 1773 gives the following entry for Dessert, Nachtisch, Confect-Tafel (23): At the great ceremonial dinners the dessert is often used to display allegorical and figural representations, in the proper arrangement of which considerable knowledge of History, Poetry and Mythology, likewise of Architecture and Perspective is called for. The easiest representations at great desserts are pleasure-gardens, with

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7) Ecuelle and dessert plate from the Kurland service. Hard-paste porcelain, decorated in enamel colours and gilt. Meissen, c.1774.

promenades, buildings, fountains, parterres, vases and statues,  
of which last the porcelain factories at Meissen, Berlin, Vienna  
etc. make the prettiest and most decorative pieces and ensembles  
imaginable, thus saving the confectioner much work (24). These  
displays seem to have been quite literally talking points: the  
Confectionery of the Freiherr of Dalbert borrowed cork models of  
antique buildings for the dessert, so that quests were  
vouchsafed more knowledge and encouraged to use this in the  
discussion of the most ancient monuments and other works of art  
(25).

This trend is typified by the large centrepiece that Acier  
and Schoenheit, working after Kaendler's retirement in 1775,  
produced for a royal dinner service, glorifying the reign of  
Frederick Augustus III. This consisted of a pyramid ornamented  
with portraits of Augustus II, Augustus III and Frederick  
Christian, with personifications of Virtue, Knowledge, Peace and  
Mercy and the Nine Muses; another group represented an  
allegorical figure of Saxonia, accompanied by Fertility and  
Abundance, presiding over the china- and textile industries of  
the state, including lace making. A third group represented  
Commerce, Agriculture and Mining, with two temples in the Doric  
(with a figure of Victory) and Corinthian styles (with a figure  
of Virtue) (26). Such heavy handed allegories contrasted strongly  
with the light-hearted shepherds and shepherdesses, Harlequins  
and Columbines of the earlier rococo period.



In keeping with the sculptural and classical tradition of these displays, many of these allegorical figures were not glazed and enamelled in the rococo manner, but made in unglazed biscuit porcelain in the manner of Sevres, thus resembling small classical figures carved out of marble. A catalogue of types was produced by David Erlasser. Meissen made a wide variety of these figures, usually of classical Gods and heroes, some modelled by Christian Gottfried Juechtzer (1752-1812), who was appointed chief modeller in 1794, and made much use of the collection of casts from the Mengs collection. A group of the Three Graces after a classical prototype was first exhibited in 1785.

These developments were mirrored to some extent in all the other porcelain factories in Germany. The march of taste was all-pervasive, each factory wishing to emulate the others. Karl-Eugen's factory at Ludwigsburg is thought to have been the first to make figures in the neo-classical taste, when in 1762 it recruited the modeller Wilhelm Beyer, whom Duke Carl I Eugen had sent to study in Rome to introduce modern ideas to the factory. He made a wide range of elegantly modelled statues of naked athletes, Gods and Goddesses, in a particularly accomplished mode. After his death, the tradition was continued by the modeller J.J. Louis who was brought in from Tournai as Oberbossierer (chief modeller) in 1762-72, and subsequently worked in Vienna at the garden statues for the Palace of the

Schoenbrunn. The severe course of neo-classicism in Germany can be judged by the monument to the director of the factory, von Kauffmann, his wife and their seven children, dating to 1789. It comprises a white biscuit tabernacle pyramidal form guarded by two angels, with silhouettes of the deceased painted in black. It is essentially a piece of sculpture executed by a ceramic factory (fig 8) (27).

The fashion for French modellers and craftsmen extended to the other factories. The factory at Fuerstenburg obtained the services of a French sculptor, Desoches, to act as modeller as early as 1769. He made a range of figures in biscuit, the most notable being a range of busts of Greek philosophers mounted on pedestals, as well as medallions of the royal family. The tradition was continued by the German modellers Carl Gottlieb Schubert and Johann Christoph Rombrich. An important range of vases was made from 1768 onwards, each new model being marked with a letter of the alphabet. The price-list for 1779-85 lists Sets of Urns after the Antique for chimney-pieces or table-settings; their development was so rapid that by 1785 the letter Z had been reached. These were not all Classical-style vases, many of the first being pierced pots-pourris of the rococo kind; however, by 1779 straight copies of Wedgwood models were being made in gilded porcelain (28). Also made was a wide variety of

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8) von Kauffmann memorial. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Ludwigsburg, 1789. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Frankfurt-am-Main

tea- and coffee- services with trays (29); these generally have severe right-angled handles a la grecque and are painted with cameos, silhouettes or medallions of classical heroes or contemporary philosophers, in the manner of Meissen (30).

The factories of Hoechst, Frankenthal and Nymphenburg all succumbed to the neo-classical spell, but in varying degrees at different times. In this a prime mover was the great modeller J.P.Melchior, who finished his days at Hoechst by producing some fine portrait reliefs, including one of Goethe in 1775, inscribed Der Verfasse der leiden des jungen Werther durch seinen Freund Melchior 1775 nach dem Leben gearbeitet ('to the author of the "Sorrows of Young Werther" modelled by his friend Melchior in 1775 from life'). In 1779 he became chief modeller at Frankenthal, supplanting Adam Bauer (chief modeller 1777-9) who had produced some portrait reliefs, busts and allegories, including one celebrating the golden wedding of the Elector Karl-Theodor. At Frankenthal quite respectable neo-classical vases were being made by 1771 (31), and a set of three vases and a dejune [sic] finely painted in brown, Ovid's figures from the factory are recorded in the sale of the London chinaman James Giles in 1774 (32). Researches into better pastes and colours continued under Simon Feilner, formerly of Furstenburg; the British Museum has a specimen plate, dated 1775, painted with over sixty different colours, including seven different shades of

green. As at Hoechst a range of rather severe dejeunerers were in production by 1775; some of these show great quality in the modelling, presumably due to Melchior (33).

Melchior went on to in 1797 to work at the factory at Nymphenburg, which had lain dormant since 1777, as the Elector Karl Theodor was more interested in his factory at Frankenthal. The modeller Domenicus Auliczek had been appointed in 1764 as successor to Bustelli and in 1792 produced the 'bead' service, a severe and rather unattractive service with a border of pearls ('beads') (fig 9). Biscuit figures were modelled by the great sculptor Melchior, formerly at Frankenthal, who produced small allegorical medallions and groups such as the group celebrating the birth of the Prince Maximilian in 1800 (34).

Other factories, which were blessed with a strong monarchy, fared better in these difficult times. The factory at Berlin continued under the personal protection and interest of Frederick the Great until his death in 1786, and continued to make porcelain of a very high standard, albeit rather old-fashioned in taste. The first neo-classical vases, of restrained pear-shaped form but with fluted bases and tops, date to 1767, to be followed rapidly in the 1770s and 1780s by a garniture of five severely classical vases, modelled for the Duchess of Weimar in about

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9) Tureen from the 'Bead' service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 24cm. Nymphenburg, 1792

1785 (35). The first truly neo-classical teawares were described as vase-shaped with trellis work that appeared in 1776 (36). In modelling the sculptor Wilhelm Christian Meyer created figures of Hercules and Venus on round classical pedestals as early as 1769 (37). The neo-classical influence in dinner wares did not materialize until the late 1770s, when patterns such as the Englischglatt (based on Wedgwood creamware) and the Antiqueglatt were produced. Most of these works retained a rococo element (for instance, in the use of sprays of enamelled flowers), and the severe Classical style did not gain hold until after the death of Frederick, when the courtier Frierich Anton von Heinitz (1725-1802) was put in charge of the Porcelain Commission, partly to make the factory more profitable. He re-organized the factory's administration, appointing a Deputy Director C.J.C.Klipfel from Meissen who eventually took charge of the factory's sales and marketing (38).

The kind of very severe works made by the Germanic factories at the end of the 18th century are well demonstrated by the centre piece from an ambitious dinner-service ordered from Berlin by Frederick William II of Prussia in 1791 to the designs of the architect Hans Christian Genelli, and carried out by the chief modeller Carl Friedrich Riese. The service is allegorical of 'the Kingdom of Nature' and a contemporary critique by Feder Rosenthiels wrote that Nature is great in its underlying principles, incomprehensible in her workings; her products are a

source of continual enjoyment to men and appreciated by sensitive souls (39). It is thought that the figure of Bacchus on the centrepiece (fig 10) could have been modelled by the great neo-classical sculptor Johann Gottfried Schadow. This centrepiece is representative of a trend towards large presentation pieces; a prestigious dinner service for royalty now became an aim of every factory.

In contrast to this outpouring of severe and rather monotonous neo-classical pieces from the major state German factories, a whole mass of small porcelain factories sprang up in eastern Germany, in Thuringia, where deposits of kaolin had been discovered in about 1760, including Gotha (1757 to date), Volkstedt (1760 to date), Kloster-Veilsdorf (1760 to date), Wallendorf (1764 to date), Limbach (1772), Ilmenau (1777 to date), Gera (1779 to date) and Rauenstein (1783 to date). Many were run or founded not as luxuries by Princes, but as commercial businesses by different members of the Greiner family of potters and painters, who continued them well into the 19th century. They all made vigorously modelled wares of crude quality for a 'middle-class market', the paste being of a thick greyish texture which gives them something of the heaviness of stoneware. Their rate of production was astounding, and they produced vast quantities of rather inelegant tea- and dinnerwares in a simple

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10) Centrepiece in the form of a temple. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 60.5cm. Berlin, 1791-95. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (C.745-1923)

neo-classical style, painted rather crudely in enamel colours, which has led to Thuringia being christened the 'Staffordshire of Germany' by some collectors. Some of their interpretations of the classical ideal were bizarre in the extreme (fig 11) (40). An idea of their efficiency may be gauged from the fact that Volkstedt paid its workers only around 4-15 Gulden a month, when the cost of a teaset (dejeuner) or pot-pourri vase painted in enamel colours was 10-15 Gulden (41).

Russia, which up to now had been an importer of porcelain, was beginning to manufacture its own porcelain. Neo-classical services decorated with insignia were made by the factory in Moscow, established by the Englishman Francis Gardner in 1766, for the annual ceremonial dinners for the Order of St. George (1777-78), St. Andrew (178), St. Alexander Nevskii (1780) (fig 12), and St. Vladimir (1783-85), which took inspiration from the Berlin service sent to Catherine the Great in 1772. The factory had been set up with the help of sixty seven serfs bought for 300 roubles, and, since it had been established under a manufacturing edict of Peter the Great, the Manufaktur Kollegiia, its employees were subject to the Department of Manufactures for crimes other

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11) Dejeuner in the neo-classical taste, c.1800. Ilmenau (Thuringia, Germany). Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Length of tray 37.5cm. Kunstsammlungen, Weimer (Nr. A771-7).

12) Dessert basket from the St. Alexander Nevskii service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Moscow, 1780

than murder, robbery and treason. The factory was sufficiently advanced for a porcelain teaset to be presented to Catherine the Great in 1775 (42).

Developments in the north meant that other factories followed the lead given by Sevres, with somewhat less doctrinaire results than in the German state factories. At Tournai the rich Sevres style was introduced by Henri-Joseph Duvivier in 1763-1771, including a service in the Sevres manner in 1787 for the Duke of Orleans, painted after birds from the publications of the naturalist Buffon, with heads in grisaille on a dark blue ground (fig 13). However, the most famous service of all was made by the factory founded at Copenhagen in 1775, under the aegis of the apothecary and chemist Franz Heinrich Mueller. It was sponsored by the Queen, Juliane Marie, a sister of the Duke of Brunswick who had set up the Fuerstenberg factory. In 1779 the factory was taken over by the Crown, and in 1784 the import of foreign porcelain was forbidden. Some very elegant items, including a group of vases in the French neo-classical taste, were made (43). Few major services were made, although the Court confectioner made a point of keeping the royal palaces well supplied with utilitarian wares. The most famous work is the great Flora Danica service, begun in 1790, apparently made for Catherine the Great of Russia. The shapes were based on the neo-

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13) pieces from the Buffon service. Soft-paste porcelain painted in enamel colours and gilt. Diameter of plate 23.8cm. Tournai, c.1789



classical 'pearl' service of 1783, where the rim of each piece was edged with a row of pearls, and each piece was painted with a plant from the great Flora Danica, a recently published illustrated compendium of Danish plants (fig 14). Catherine died in 1796 and the production of the service was stopped in 1802, at 100 place-settings. It is of interest that the Pastry Cook's account book listed the times that the service was used and that, on average, one piece was broken every time (44).

However, the true spirit of classicism was, not unnaturally, found most closely in its homeland of Italy. But even here the classicism of Wedgwood held sway over the Italian, and when the Englishman Arthur Young visited Vicenza in Italy in the late 18th century, he saw 'a magazine of earthenware in imitation of Mr. Wedgwood. It is surely a triumph of the arts in England to see in Italy Etruscan forms copied from English models. It is a better imitation than many I have seen in France' (45). Imports of Wedgwood creamware put paid to the once-flourishing Italian tin-glaze market, although towards the end of the century the Giustiani factory in Naples made some fine creamware decorated in the Etruscan manner.

The porcelain factory more obviously affected was that of Naples. The factory at Naples had been refounded by Ferdinand in

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14) Plate from the Flora Danica service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Copenhagen, c.1790. Kunstmuseum, Cologne.

the grounds of the royal palace at Portici, to the east of Naples, in 1771. The first products of the revived factory were similar to those of the former factory and the property of the Royal family; however, when the director Perez died in 1779 he was replaced by Domenico Venuti (1745-1817), a man of great learning and ability, the son of Marcello Venuti, one of the first excavators at Herculaneum. He was himself involved in the restoration and publication of the Greek temples at Paestum, and his general work on antiquities in Naples led to him being entitled General Superintendent of the antiquities of the Kingdom, of the excavations, both public and private, and president of the council for the royal museums (46). Under Venuti the products of the factory were now put on sale to the general public. The modeller Filippo Tagliolini (1745-1809) joined the factory from the Vienna factory in 1780. He modelled a wide variety of figures in the classical style, or copied from antique originals; his most ambitious work is a large biscuit centrepiece of many figures in contorted poses of The Fall of the Giants of 1787-92/99. Towards the end of the century, he seems to have been responsible for some charming groups depicting fashionable figures at rest or play (47).

The factory began to make whole dinner services in a style much influenced by the new discoveries of Pompeii and Herculaneum. A 'Herculaneum' service of 88 pieces was begun in 1781 under the direction of Domenico Venuti. It was sent to the

Spanish court the following year, accompanied by the decorators. As centrepieces, there were busts of Scipio, Seneca, Pallas, Jupiter Ammon and others, and a biscuit group of 'Charles II exhorting his son Ferdinand to pursue the excavations'. An explanatory book of engravings was published by Venuti to accompany the service. In 1785, an 'Etruscan Service' of 282 pieces was started, and sent to George III of England in 1787. Like the Herculaneum Service, it was described by Venuti in a separate publication. The soup-dishes, tureens, compotiers and so on are adapted from ancient Greek vases in the red-figure or black-figure styles, and the plates painted on a tin-glazed ground with depictions of actual vases found at Nola and elsewhere in the Kingdom of Naples (fig 15). The aim of the gift of the service was to obtain English naval know-how to rebuild the Neapolitan fleet; most of the service survives today at Windsor Castle, but not the centrepiece of Tarchon, King of the Etruscans, presiding over Gladiatorial contests. For lesser markets the factory also made a large variety of tablewares painted with scenes from Antiquity, and of local customs and dress.

Straight copies of antique statues were also made by the engraver Giovanni Volpato at his factory in the via Pudenziana, Rome (founded 1785). In a letter written in 1786 he

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15) Plate and bottle cooler (?) from a service sent to George III in 1787. Diameter of plate 9.25 inches. Naples, tin-glazed porcelain. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

stated that its main object is to reproduce in biscuit the most beautiful antiquities - statues, low reliefs and ornaments - that are found in such great numbers in this realm, to replace the ridiculous dolls which are used on dining- and side-tables. A price-list of his work in the Victoria and Albert Museum includes copies after the Apollo Belvedere and the Sleeping Faun (48).

#### New Developments in France

However, most of these products are in a rather heavy style, applying the heavier motifs of early neo-classicism to forms that are basically rococo in conception. The remedy to this heaviness lay also in the country that have sparked off the Classical revival, France. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, France reaffirmed its status as the centre of new fashions for the whole of Europe. The dominant style continued to be classical, but under this umbrella term existed a variety of styles which all competed for favour at different times. Their only shared characteristic was their extreme refinement and the great amount of labour involved in their execution.

The Court at Versailles was no longer the leading patron of the French decorative arts; instead, there rose up in Paris a whole generation of rich millionaires, such as the tax-gatherers

('fermiers-generaux'), who patronized a variety of styles whose only common characteristic was the extreme refinement of design and detail which meant that even furniture was made with something of the minute attention that might have been given to a piece of jewellery. Style was dictated by such elegant Anglophile architects as Francois-Joseph Belanger (1744-1818), who designed a bathhouse at the Hotel de Brancas in Paris in the early 1770s which revived the grotesque/arabesque style in decoration. Floral motifs were also popular, providing a feminine delicacy to what was seen as basically seen as masculine style.

This was the great age of the ascendancy of taste of the 'marchand-merciers', the successors to dealers such as Lazare Duvaux of twenty years before, who innovated styles and techniques to tempt the jaded appetites of Parisians and rich visitors from abroad. They had the power to influence taste, and commissioned work for sale (49). One of the most famous was Simon-Philippe Poirier (the nephew of Thomas-Joachim Hebert, who, as we have seen, had a Sevres vase form named after him), who kept shop at 85, rue Saint-Honore. From 1758 he bought painted plaques directly from the Sevres factory, setting them into elegant neo-classical furniture, such as commodes and secretaires, which were purchased by such fashionable clients as the King's mistress, Madame du Barry. Such plaques were generally painted with bunches or swags of flowers, and by 1770 he had bought 1,400 plaques (50). His preferred craftsman was the

cabinet maker Martin Carlin, whose stamp is often erased from the products, presumably to ensure their anonymity (fig 16) (51). The use of Sevres plaques as furniture decoration seems to have originated as long before as 1755, when a group of plaques copying Cantonese enamels was made and then mounted on a pair of cabinets by the ebeniste Bernard van Risenburgh. In 1783, a painting by Boucher, Rinaldo and Armidia, was actually lent to the Sevres factory for the painter Dodin to copy as a plaque for mounting. By the end of the century the trade was dominated by Dominique Daguerre, a successful marchand-mercier who had many dealings with the British and actually set up shop in London. Daguerre became Wedgwood's Paris agent and may have been responsible for applying Wedgwood's plaques to furniture (52).

Another genre that gained favour in the later 18th century was the 'cabinet' cup and saucer. This was an individual cup and saucer of regular form decorated in the most lavish and fashionable taste; its main purpose seems to have been not for use, but to demonstrate taste and fashionable ornament, and designs were sometimes specially made (fig 17). The Reverend William Cole records that his friend Horace Walpole bought one at Poirier's shop on their visit to Paris in 1765: 'I was with Mr.

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16) Table with inset Sevres plaques by Martin Carlin. Height 80.5cm. The porcelain Sevres, c.1765. The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.

17) Jean Baptiste Fay, title page to 1er Cahier d'Ornemens et Fleurs, showing different styles of decoration applied to cups.

Walpole one Day at a great shop in Paris, Mr. Poirier's, where [Sevres porcelain] was sold, & saw him give 10 Louis or guineas for a single Coffee cup, Saucer, & a little square Sort of Soucoupe, or under-saucer, to set them on; they were indeed the highest finished things of the kind that can be conceived: perfect Jewels that deserve to be set in gold Frames to be admired & looked at, but never to be used for Fear of breaking them' (53). By the later 18th century the cylindrical form of the gobelet litron was preferred (which became the English 'coffee-can') to allow space for decoration (fig 18); sometimes, the cup and saucers were deliberately mismatched to create a 'harlequin' set. Louis XVI's aunts displayed eighteen cups and saucers with different decoration on two tables between the windows of their winter drawing-room at their chateau of Bellevue (54). Similarly individually decorated ecuelles from Sevres in a gift to Tipu Sultan in India in 1788 were described as pieces d'ornement (55). Right at the end of the century Sevres seems also to have made plates with individual border decoration; a selection survive in the Victoria and Albert Museum and Berlin (Schloss Kopenick) from the Berlin royal palace.

Many of these new products were in the new hard-paste porcelain, based on deposits of china clay found at Limoges in 1769 and made at Sevres soon thereafter. Many factories were set

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18) Cup and saucer. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height of cup 6.8cm. Sevres, 1778. Waddesdon Manor, Aylesbury

up in Paris to cater for this trade in luxury goods of the middle range. Most were located in the artisans' quarter of the North East, a traditional centre for the manufacture of consumer goods such as furniture. A number of factories arose in the wake of the government's decision to allow some sort of expansion of trade in 1760, though at first the factories were allowed to make only undecorated porcelain, or painted with underglaze blue in the Chinese style (56). An influx of makers from German states, such as Hannong from Strasbourg and Russinger from Hoechst, arose. A number of factories gained patronage of members of the royal family; the Queen supported a factory in Rue Thiroux, run by Lebeuf; the King's brother, the Comte de Provence, later to reign as Louis XVIII) supported that at Rue de Clignacourt, the King's youngest brother, the Comte d'Artois (later to become Charles X), that at Faubourg St. Denis (Limoges, which supplied the clay, was in his domains); his son, the Duc d'Angouleme, supported the factory run by Guerhard and Dihl in the Rue de Bondy; and the Duc d'Orleans supported a factory in the Rue Amelot. All these factories made a wide variety of elegant simply decorated wares in the late 18th century taste, often decorated with flowers; those painted with rather angular sprigs of cornflower in blue and white are known as Angouleme sprig. Some factories, such as that in the Rue du Petit Carrousel, were only decorating establishments, using blanks supplied by other



factories (fig 19). They all had to suffer numerous disputes with Sevres, which accused them of enticing away craftsmen and modellers with inflated wages, and even pirating designs, to the extent that a design for the King appeared in general circulation before the King had seen it! However, the general principle was conceded in 1784, when they were permitted to make everything except vases, pictures, bas-reliefs and groups, and even these were allowed to the factories with royal patronage in 1787 (57).

However, the artistic impetus remained with the Sevres factory, which was in a position to develop new styles in a way which was denied to other, more commercial, factories. Further remarkable pieces from the Sevres factory include a pair of vases and covers with gilt bronze mounts in the British Royal Collection which date to 1779. They are decorated with chinoiserie scenes and seem to correspond to a garniture of three vases bought by Marie-Antoinette for her own use at Versailles in December, 1779 (58). Another garniture in the Chinese taste dates from 1780; apparently a very similar set was listed in the King's private apartments at Versailles in 1792 (fig 20) (59). Lastly, we must mention a pair of egg-shaped vases with bronze mounts dating to 1782-84. They are apparently identical with a pair that

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19) Ewer and basin. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Paris, rue du Petit Carrousel, 1774-1800

20) Vase with Chinese heads. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours by the decorator Schradre and gilt. Height 47cm. Sevres, 1780. The Royal Collection, London.

stood in the 'Ancienne Piece du Cafe' on the first floor of the King's apartments at Versailles. The mounts are probably executed by P-P Thomire who submitted a bill for similar mounts in 1784 for a vase for the King, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (21) (60). Their style of painting is a clear revival of the grotesque. All these different styles co-existed with the classical canon; their only linkage was the extreme refinement of their execution.

The artistic director at Sevres was still Jean-Jacques Bachelier, but in 1785 the neo-classical artist Jean-Jacques Lagrenée [le jeune] (1740-1821) was appointed artistic co-director. In 1787 he bought a suite d'arabesques de Raphael for the factory, which seems to have been the beginning of much elegant arabesque decoration. The head of the painters' studio from 1753 to 1789, J.B.E. Genest, also supplied arabesque designs and selected models for painting (61). A 'service arabesque' was begun for Marie-Antoinette in 1782. It was designed by the architect and engineer Louis Masson, and to speed up production, one of Masson's drawings was cut into three, so that three times the number of craftsmen could work on the project. The bulk of the service was ready by mid 1785 (fig 22), but in the event was

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21) Vase 'Boizot'. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt with a scene after Lagrenée. Height 44cm. Sevres, c.1784. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore ( no.48.644-645)

22) Glass cooler from the Arabesque service made for Marie-Antoinette. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Width 40cm. Sevres, 1784. Museo Duca di Martina, Naples

never completed, and service was finally presented by the Republican government to Daniel Alfons con Sanoz-Rollin, Minister of the King of Prussia in Paris, in 1795, and subsequently dispersed. This contrasts with a more traditional service of shapes and patterns which was supplied to the Queen in 1784. Described as 'Service decoration riche en Couleurs et Riche en or', it shows decoration of small sprays of roses regimented in panels around the borders, and was used for services for the King of Sweden (1784) and the King's brother, the Comte d'Artois, in 1789.

The delicate styles and form of late 18th century French classicism were to prove popular throughout the rest of Europe well into the 19th century. The arabesque style became the basis of the lighter, more feminine, style that prevailed in all the more artistically advanced factories that operated in Europe at the end of the 18th century. The factory set up at Nyon in Switzerland by the German Jacques Dortu in 1780 made many of the standard domestic forms - broth bowls, coffee cans, as well as a few ambitious vases - with a wide variety of painting, from elegant arabesques through to landscapes and scenes of countrymen in national dress. Its most popular form of decoration was the small cornflower motif enamelled in blue, pink or violet colours. After 1807 it also made pottery, and direct artistic links have been shown with the English Wedgwood factory (62).

A more elegant and ambitious brand of late neo-classicism was developed at the factory at Vienna, which came relatively late to the Classical style, in spite of recommendations in 1768 from Wilhelm Beyer, formerly chief modeller of the Ludwigsburg factory, then working on statues for the Schoenbrunn Palace in Vienna. The modeller Anton Grassi had been appointed from the Vienna Academy of Art as in 1778, but the true change in style came with the attempted sale of the factory by the Emperor Joseph II in 1784, and the subsequent appointment of the courtier Konrad von Sorgenthal as Director in 1784 to run the factory as a profit-making business enterprise until his death in 1805. He had formerly run the State-owned cloth factory at Linz. He re-organized the factory's showrooms, exhibiting models in the new biscuit ware in a separate room. He tightened up the design and painting of the factory's wares, employing only painters who had successfully completed the drawing course of the Academy. He also, in 1783, began the practice of date-stamping the ware with the last two digits of the year. Landscape and flower painting became especially prominent. With the new colours of blue and violet devised by the chemist Joseph Leitner and elaborate raised gilding devised by Georg Perl, the factory began to specialize in elaborate all-over decoration in the Classical style of a type that rivalled Sevres. A dejeuner in the British Museum is datemarked [17]85 (Fig 23). Grassi was elected a member of the

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23) Dejeuner. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Naples, 1785. The British Museum, London (Franks 138)

Academy and appointed art director at the factory in 1790, developing a tighter kind of imitative painting. A particular specialty was overall painting in the many colours, often copied from prints after the fashionable artist Angelica Kauffmann, which gave rise to a tradition in the 19th century that she decorated porcelain personally. Grassi returned from Italy in 1793 with a wide variety of casts, drawings and engravings of Classical decoration, which were soon reflected in the decoration of the porcelain. After 1790 a blue similar to Wedgwood's jasper blue was discovered and reliefs and vessels were made in imitation (63).

A similar style can be seen in the wares of the porcelain factory set up under royal protection in about 1762 in St. Petersburg. In the 1760s it was linked to the newly-established Academy of the Arts under the direction of Gohn Dominic Rashnet, who designed many services in the latest style, including the 'Arabesque' service of 1784, with a classical centrepiece of figures glorifying Catherine II's foreign policy, and the similar 'Kabinetsky' service of 1795 (fig 24) (64). Very fine wares in the late neo-classical taste were made at the newly founded factory at Buen Retiro in Spain, under the guidance of the director Jose Gricci (1760-70) and produced what was the last of the porcelain rooms at the royal Palace in Madrid, but in a

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24) Pieces from the 'Arabesque' service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. St. Petersburg, 1784. The Hermitage, Leningrad

moderate classical style, with putti supporting vases and well-modelled classical reliefs. Under his successors Carlos and Felipe Gricci (1783-1803) the factory made some very exact copies of Wedgwood Jasper plaques, which were used for inlaying furniture, as well as some very elegant vases supporting candelabra in the French taste, popularized at the Court by the French designer J.A.D. Dugourc (1749-1825), who supplied patterns for craftsmen to follow (65).

Dugourc claimed the credit for the last major style of the 18th century, the style etrusque, a more archaeologically accurate version of the neo-classical style, which accurately copied details from Grecian and Pompeian antiquity. It was distinguished by great refinement of detail, and the use of sombre or striking colours, some of the most popular being a sombre chocolate brown or acidic yellow as background colours. Some idea of the progression of taste can be gauged from the descriptions of new models of Sevres ecuelles (broth-bowls and covers) which are described as "silver-shape" (forme d'argent) in 1779, arabesque in 1785 and etrusque in 1789 (66).

The most famous example of the "style etrusque" in ceramics is the service of Sevres porcelain of 1788 made for the dairy that was built for Marie Antoinette at the royal hunting lodge at Rambouillet. They were designed by Lagrenée and comprised a number of exotic items whose design were thought to mirror the

fashions current in classical Pompeii: milk pails shaped and painted as if made out of wood; bowls in the shape of breasts, and an elegant cup with high handles rising above the rim in the Greek manner, called a 'gobelet à anses étrusque', derived from two Greek vases acquired from the collection of Vivant-Denon in 1786 (67). This collection had been put on loan at Sevres in 1786 by the Comte d'Angivilliers, having been bought in the King's name 'to serve as models for simple forms and change, by example, the false direction given by the form of the preceding reign' (68). The whole service was clearly of the greatest possible refinement and deliberately eschewed the rich gilding which was found on other works from Sevres, and was in general not much imitated at Sevres; the service survived the Revolution in part, and was acquired by the Empress Josephine in 1803, and subsequently dispersed (fig 25).

It should be realised that these refinements of taste were for private consumption; for the rich and great something different was required for public display, for which a heavier style prevailed. The great surviving monument to official taste is the great service begun for Louis XVI at Sevres in 1783 and only half completed by the time of the King's execution in 1793. The style of the service is much heavier than pieces in the

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25) Cup and saucer from the dairy service made for Rambouillet. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Height of cup 11cm. Sevres, 1788. Musée National de la Céramique, Sevres.

Etruscan style, with central panels in a gilded frame against a 'gros bleu' ground colour. The subject of the central panels are all Classical, and come from a variety of sources, the most frequently used being the Metamorphoses of 1768-9 (69). The service makes no attempt to imitate the shapes of the Cameo service for Catherine the Great or indeed innovate new shapes; it confines itself to using the more restrained shapes of Duplessis, such as wine-coolers and ice-pails, that had been in use for nearly fifty years (fig 26). Although the painting and modelling is of the highest quality, it does suggest a certain lack of artistic adventurousness on the part of official taste in the years immediately preceding the French Revolution.

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26) Pieces from the service made for Louis XVI. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height of ice-pail 20.8cm. Sevres, 1783-92. The Royal Collection, London



1. 6K I 5312. I assume the frame is contemporary with the picture, but do not know when it reached Germany
2. illustrated in Kunst und Antiquaeten, 3, 1976, p.82
3. B. von Roda, 'Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim. Auftraggeber zwischen Rokoko und Klassizismus. Zur Wurzburger und Bamberger Hofkunst anhand der Privatkorrespondenz des Fürstbischofs (1755-1779)', Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft fuer Frankische Geschichte. R.B. Quellen und Darstellungen zur Frankische Kunstgeschichte 6, Neustadt, 1980, pp.168-170
4. for an introduction to the social and intellectual life of this period, see H. Rosenberg, Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience (1660-1815), Cambridge, Mass., 1958; E. Sagarra, A Social History of Germany 1648-1914, London, 1977, and N. Boyle, Goethe: the Poet and the Age, Oxford, 1991
5. D. Irwin, Winckelmann: Writings on Art, London, 1972, p.25
6. E.H. Gombrich, The Sense of Order, Oxford, 1979, pp.24-5
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21. G. Reinheckel, Prachtyolle Service aus Meissner Porzellan, Leipzig, 1989, figs 109, 112
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23. An grossen Ceremonien Tafeln verbindet man mit dem Confect o[e]fters viele Sinnbilder und figu[e]rliche Vorstellungen, zu deren geho[e]rigen Anordnung aber viel Wissenschaft aus der Historie, Poesie und Fabellehre, ingleichen aus der Architectur und Perspective geho[e]ret. Die leichtesten Vorstellungen bey grossen Desserts sind die Lustga[e]rten mit Spazierga[e]ngen, Gebau[e]den, Springbrunnen, Parterren und Statuen, zu welchem letztern die Porcellain-Fabriken in Meissen, Berlin, Wien etc. die scho[e]nsten und zierlichsten Figuren von allen nur erdenklichen Arten und Stellungen zubereiten, und der Conditerei dadurch viel Arbeit ersparen, weil diese vormals dergl. Figuren und Statuen von Tragant-Teige oder Caramel-Zucker mu[e]hsam und mit viel Kosten verfertigen mussten. In hohen Hausern ha[e]llt man daher insgemein auf hinlaenglichen Vorrath von Porcellainfiguren und Glaswerke, zu den Dessert-Aufsa[e]tzen. Die Gartenparterres, auf den Confectspiegeln ko[e]nnen mit dem besonders dazu verfertigten Streuzucker von allen mo[e]glichen Farben...schattiert werden...Die Desserts helfen geschickte Ga[e]lnter...leicht zu Zustande zu bringen, und zu den Lustgebu[e]den, Colonnen, Portalen etc. sind die Glassachen gleich geho[e]rig aptirt zu haben. Beim schlichten Bu[e]lger hingegen werden die Aufsa[e]tze zum Confect...mehrentheils von den Conditoren erborget, als welche dergleichen von allen Arten und mit Vorstellungen von Ga[e]rten, Jagden, Landschaften, Seefahrten, architectonischen Figuren etc. insgemein vorra[e]tten haben. Amaranthes (G.S. Corvinus), Nutzbares, galantes und curio[e]ses Frauenzimmer-Lexicon, Leipzig, 1773, quoted in S. Burchse, Tafelzier des Barock, Munich, 1974, p. 128
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25. Gaesten notorisch mehr Kenntnisse zu gewahren und diese zu Unterhaltungen uelber die aeltesten Denkmale und andere Gegenstaende der Kunst zu ermuntern. Quoted in U.Erichsen-Firle, Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Koeln: Figuerliches Porzellan, Cologne, 1975, p.20

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28. see catalogue Weisses Gold aus Fuerstenberg, , Muenster and Brunswick, 1988-89, p.97, fig.5

29. A dejeuner from the Fuerstenberg is listed in their price-list for 1779 as follow: In the 'dejeuner' coffee set are included: one coffee-tray, one coffee-pot, one cream-jug, one sugar-basin, two pairs of coffee-cups with handles, and two spoons. In the 'dejeuner' tea set are included: one tea-tray, one teapot, one cream-jug, one sugar-basin, one pair of cups, and one spoon R.Schmidt, Porcelain as an Art and a Mirror of Fashion, London, 1932, p.138

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32. G.Coke, In Search of James Giles, Wingham, 1983, pp.134-5

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### Chapter 13: Ceramics in the Period 1790-1830

The beginning of the French Revolution in 1789 led to enormous changes among the governing classes of Europe which were to affect their patterns of spending and the objects they bought. Most of the French aristocracy lost that great surplus of wealth which is so conducive to changes in taste and fashion, and led to the commissioning of so many individually designed or decorated items. Furthermore they lost that respect which until then had been automatically granted to the Crown and the aristocracy, and with it the concept of developments in fashionable taste being a prerogative of the governing classes. This was affected most obviously by the destruction of the hopelessly profligate court at Versailles. The French monarchy was officially abolished in 1792 and Louis XVI was guillotined in 1793, and with that a system of French dominance of European taste, that dated back to the Court of Louis XIV in the 17th century, came to an end, at least temporarily. More practically for ceramic design and production, the system of massive state subsidies to the Royal factory of Sevres, either directly or through extravagant Royal commissions, ended, only to be revived under the reign of Napoleon. However, by then all Europe was at war and the other countries in Europe were beginning to display more individual national characteristics in design.

In 1792, with the fall of the Monarchy, the new government



of the Convention took over the running of the Sevres factory, appointing commissaries who were arrested during the Terror of 1793, but subsequently released. A memoire drawn up by one of them, Hettlinger, in May of 1793, gives reasons for and against the continuation of the factory, calling it the great workman in luxury porcelain (la grande ouvrier en luxe de porcelaine) but criticizing the opulence and expense of its products. The demand for money for the new republic was so great that much of the existing stock was sold: from June to August of 1793 the marchand mercier Lignereux organized sales and lotteries of the stock in Paris which brought in little money, while a series of unsuccessful auction sales were held in London. These sales coincided with the dispersal of the furnishings of Versailles and other palaces, mostly sold abroad, via Holland and Hamburg, especially to British collectors. Finally in 1795 the factory was placed under a committee comprising the inspecteur Hettlinger, the garde-magasin general, Salmon, and Francis Meyer (1).

The historic mark of interlaced LS and system of dating by letter were abandoned in July 1793, when PP had been reached, the mark being replaced by a painted RF (for Republique Francaise) until 1800. Fewer products seem to have been made at the factory in this period, though there was little diminution in quality. The favoured styles seem to have been that of the style arabesque or style etrusque of the late 1780s, though bearing slightly

different styles of decoration. Characteristic of this period are a number of elegantly decorated tea- and coffee wares, each decorated with some revolutionary symbol, whose luxuriousness of decoration seems quite at variance with the revolutionary message they proclaim (fig 1).

The factory at Sevres was thus effectively eliminated from its place as the leading style leader of the ceramic world, giving other, national or local factories, a chance to capture the luxury market. This influence was reinforced by the fact that the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars made it difficult for rich members of European society to travel, and effectively downplayed the international character of taste that had been dominant up to 1790. Thus local or regional factories were able to capture the custom of the richest members of society, and produce objects of a magnificence that rivalled those of Sevres.

The factories in Britain that gained the most obvious benefit from the elimination of Sevres from the international market were those at Derby and Worcester. After the death of William Duesbury in 1786 the Derby factory was run by his son of the same name, taking as a partner the miniature painter Michael Kean. It was about this time that it developed the rich style in imitation of Sevres by which it is best known today, with a range

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1) Teaset. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours with Revolutionary symbols and gilt. Sevres, 1793-95. Dragesco-Cramoisan, Paris



of rich ground colours, usually with elaborate gilding, which framed reserves with painting of the finest quality. The factory developed especial skills in flower and landscape painting, with certain artists specializing in certain types of decoration, such as William Billingsley (1758-1828), who is noted for flowers, or landscapes by artists such as Jockey Hill. An important part of the factory's production seems to have been the provision of lavishly decorated dessert services, often painted with botanical subjects, as was appropriate for something with garden connections. Such services had, of course, often been painted with flowers, but the fashion now was to copy prints from botanical journals, so that the flowers are depicted in profile or section with considerable scientific accuracy, sometimes even showing the roots. The fashion seems to have reached Derby by 1791, when a Botanical Magazine was purchased (presumably Curtis's The Botanical Magazine, published in 1790) (2), and the Prince of Wales bought a dessert service so decorated in 1792. The names of the flowers are invariably inscribed on the back of the plates, possibly to that they could be a topic of discussion over dessert. Such depictions were painted on the white porcelain and framed with a simple border, often assigned a number to facilitate multiple production in the manner of creamware. The well-known simple yellow border (pattern 216) had appeared by 1796 (fig 2).

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2) Dessert plate painted with a design of Hepatica. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Derby, c.1795. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

Similarly the factory at Worcester began to produce richly coloured wares with rich gilding and ground colours. Like so many factories it was in the hands of a retailer, having been bought by its London agent, Thomas Flight, for £3000 in 1783. In 1788 the factory was visited by the Royal family, who bought some china and allowed Flight to style the firm China Manufacturers to their Majesties. However, by 1789 Flight was acting as the London agent for the Angouleme factory, possibly because Worcester were having technical problems with the manufacture of porcelain. A large dinner service was ordered by the Duke of Clarence in 1789; he was offered a choice of three specimen patterns, Arabesque, Hope and Patience and Peace and Abundance, of which he chose the second. The service was delivered in 1792, with a central panel in grisaille of a female allegorical figure and the border of gilded underglaze blue. In 1792, the merchant Martin Barr was made a partner, and the firm continued with variations of their two names until 1840 (3).

A rival factory had been set up by a former Worcester employee, Robert Chamberlain, in 1788, who had also first acted as a decorator. This firm had close links with the factory at Caughley, with much interchange and decoration of Caughley pieces at Worcester during times of shortage (4). The firm also made lavish items of porcelain for the rich, including a dessert service for the Prince of Orange in 1796, comprising the full

range of shaped dishes, comports, jam pots and ice-pails in the French manner (5). Much ingenuity was expended over the designs of tea- and coffee-sets, which became a major aspect of production in this period, and seldom followed strictly classical models, as in France, but showed varieties of attractive moulding, including curved fluting, and rich Eastern style decoration. Since this was before the development of afternoon tea, they would presumably have been used at breakfast, where bread and butter were eaten, or for the tea and coffee that was drunk after dinner at about 7 o'clock (6).

It was about this time that teasetts began to change their character altogether from their 18th century models, as the teasetts become larger and more adapted to entertaining large groups of people. The teapots become larger and more elegant, and teabowls vanish in favour of large cups fitted with handles. A standard tea set from Chamberlain of Worcester cost about three guineas and comprised a teapot and cover, a teapot-stand, a sugar basin and cover, a jug, a 'slop' (waste) bowl, two bread and butter plates, of slightly different sizes, twelve teacups (cheaper sets had handleless teabowls), twelve (or fewer) coffee cups, and twelve saucers (7). There was thus one saucer to both a tea-cup and coffee-cup, as the hostess after dinner would normally offer her guests a choice of tea or coffee. Cups also began to take on regular forms which became standard for most manufacturers throughout Britain, with relatively simple shapes

such as the Bute (with straight coffee cans and rounded tea cups) (fig 3) followed by the London (with concave based coffee and tea-cups) profiles emerging. It is clear that tea was beginnings to be drunk in larger quantities, presumably with the regular addition of milk in the way that is familiar to us today, and it would appear that tea lost something of the magical character that it possessed in the 18th century and became more general throughout all classes of society.

The development of the social ritual of afternoon tea did not come until the mid 19th century, a result of the move in the dinner hour from four o'clock to about eight o'clock in the evening. This led to the development of lunch or luncheon around midday, a light repast, often of cold foods, which appears to have emerged in fashionable society in about 1820 (8). This left a gap for many people between the hour of luncheon and the hour of dinner, which for many this was filled by the ritual of afternoon tea. The development is often credited to the Duchesses of Rutland or Devonshire, and an official five o'clock afternoon tea had developed in country houses by 1849-50 (9). The price of tea dropped, as the East India Company lost its monopoly on tea from China in 1833 and had in any case begun growing tea in India, which was auctioned in London for the first time in 1839.

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3) Teaset in the 'Bute' shape. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt in the Imari style. Height of teapot 6.75 inches. Worcester (Chamberlain's factory), 1802-5. Geoffrey Godden, Esq

The duty on tea decreased from 2s.3d per lb to sixpence by 1865 (10).

In Britain the trend for painters or decorators to run porcelain factories led to the formation of a number of factories that created porcelain of the highest quality. The most important and artistically significant was that at Pinxton in Derbyshire, founded by the Derby flower painter William Billingsley, in 1796. The wares of this factory were made in soft-paste, similar to that of Derby, but distinguished by painting and enamelling of the highest quality, with a softness about them reminiscent of the finest work of Sevres, and of the most elegant and delicate design. The flower painting was naturally exceptionally good. Billingsley left Pinxton in 1799, going to Mansfield, and then to Torksey, where he opened decorating establishments for pieces in the white. From 1808 he was employed at Flight and Barr's at Worcester for five years, and in 1813 opened a soft-paste factory at Nantgarw in Wales with his son-in-law Samuel Walker, only to be abandoned in 1814 when Billingsley commenced the manufacture of soft-paste porcelain at the pottery works at Swansea until 1817, when Billingsley returned to Nantgarw. The factories at Nantgarw and Swansea produced some of the finest soft-paste porcelain ever made in Britain, that rivalled the quality of Sevres, although the high glass content meant that many failed in the kiln. Decoration was

of appropriate high quality (fig 4). However, both factories failed again and in 1820 Billingsley and Walker signed a seven years agreement with John Rose, who had taken over the old porcelain factory of Caughley in 1799 and produced the rich wares that we know today as Coalbrookdale or Coalport, characterized by rich ground colours and lavish flower painting.

The quality of Swansea and Nantgarw porcelain was such that it was bought undecorated by London retailers, such as Mortlock of Oxford Street, Pellat & Green of St. Paul's churchyard, and John Bradley & Co. of Pall Mall, who in turn employed decorating firms such as Robins & Randall, Powell of Wimpole Street, and John Simms, to decorate it in an up-to-date manner. It is not always clear which pieces are factory decorated and which are London decorated, but it does re-inforce the trend that successful porcelain factories needed to operate with a base or contact in London in order to keep their designs fashionable.

The most famous independent workshop of all was that of Thomas Baxter, who ran a decorating shop at No.1 Goldsmith Street, Gough Square, Clerkenwell, from as early as 1797. Baxter brought to porcelain painting something of the quality of picture painting, possibly based on his studies at the Royal Academy School, where he exhibited paintings at the Royal Academy from

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4) Tray. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Width 30cm. Swansea, c.1815

1802 to 1812. He seems to have had especially close links with the Worcester and Caughley factories, buying their products in the white and firing on enamelled decoration in his own muffle-kilns. There exists a watercolour drawing of 1809 in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig 5), which shows the members of his workshop at work, with a Caughley plate on the left depicting a Victory commemorative of Nelson. This plate is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig 6). However, Baxter's workshop was not commercially successful and he returned to Worcester in about 1814 and worked for Flight, Barr & Barr, and later at the newly founded soft-paste factory at Swansea, before ending up with Chamberlain at Worcester. Such artistic interchanges meant that styles and decoration were carried from one factory to another, making it very difficult to associate one type of factory with any single style of decoration.

Many of the wares decorated at the factories themselves were decorated in styles which would have seemed out-of-date or downright garish to their competitors on the Continent. This was presumably because of the lack of a strict State-led (or imposed) taste in England, as was found on the Continent. Rich Eastern-style patterns, based on Chinese famille rose porcelains or

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5) Watercolour of the decorating workshop of Thomas Baxter, 1809. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

6) Plate painted with a scene of Britannia mourning the death of Nelson. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Caughley, painted in the workshop of Thomas Baxter, signed and dated 1806. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Japanese Imari porcelains, continued to be very popular at the turn of the century, rivalling in richness the rich ground colours of Sevres and its imitations. Worcester produced a version of a Chinese 'Dragons in Compartments' pattern as early as 1797-9, and Admiral Nelson was able to order a service in the 'Japan' (Imari) pattern from the factory in August 1802. These wares gradually supplanted the more restrained styles of the late 18th century, whose elegant painted borders, often of arabesques, left much of the body of the porcelain white, and seem to have been very popular in the early 19th century. This taste put paid to factories which had depended on a more restrained and classical taste, such as Wedgwood, which in this period suffered a serious decline. The public taste has been led to expect such a dazzling mixture of colour with gold in broad shades covering the whole area that their eyes are spoilt, for delicate & elegant borders, which are not dazzling & do not produce a striking effect wrote Wedgwood's agent Josiah Byerly in 1813 (11). Much of the popularity of these styles may owe something to the taste of the Prince Regent, who favoured especially rich and lavish styles of decoration and in his choice of Oriental styles for his Pavilion at Brighton gave continuing support to them (12).

Although standards of taste in Britain were falling to the nadir of the Victorian period, this was also the age of the economic expansion and worldwide dominance of the Staffordshire



ceramic industry. The early 19th century saw the development of new bodies, and new techniques of decoration, which meant that manufacturers in Staffordshire could supply ceramics that were of as high quality, and in many respects more durable, than those of the great European factories. This became a source of considerable national pride, especially after the ending of the Napoleonic Wars in 1814/15, when employment was needed for considerable numbers of demobilized soldiers, as was noted in the novels of Jane Austen (13). By 1818 144 master potters specializing in the manufacture of earthenware alone are listed in a directory of the district (14).

The major technical developments in Staffordshire of the time were the development of a porcelain body called bone china and a kind of strengthened pottery called stone-china. The leading exponents were Josiah Spode II (1755-1827) and the family of the former London china-dealer Miles Mason (1752-1813) of Lane End. Bone china is thought to have been developed by Spode at Stoke-on-Trent from about 1800 onwards; it was a kind of hard-paste porcelain strengthened by the addition of bone ash, in the manner of the products of the old factory at Bow and other soft-paste English porcelain factories, with a warm white body. But whereas the products of Bow and other factories contained only about 25% bone ash by weight, added to the ingredients of soft-paste porcelain, the new bone china contained between 40 and 50% bone ash by weight, mixed with mixed with equal quantities of

the traditional ingredients of true-hard-paste porcelain, kaolin and pentunse (15). Spode began the production of a wide-range of elegant tea- and other wares, mostly decorated within the factory by the firm of Henry Daniel in an elegant neo-classical style. The success of bone-china was immediate, leading to a large number of imitators in Staffordshire, such as John Davenport (1765-1848) and Thomas Minton (1765-1836), founders of the factories of the same name (fig 7). Even the great pottery firm of Wedgwood was to produce its own version in 1812 (16). All these products were developed without State assistance, though the Royal family were always on hand to express their approbation and lead the market. The Prince Regent and his brother the Duke of Clarence visited the Spode factory in 1806, much to the delight of the Staffordshire Advertiser, which hoped for royal patronage comparable to that received on the Continent (17).

The other major development in Staffordshire was "Stone-china", a kind of tough high-fired pottery that was developed by the Turners of Lane End, who had obtained a patent in January 1800, and by Josiah Spode as New Stone from about 1813, the firm of Davenport of Longport (18), and Charles James Mason, son of the china dealer and porcelain maker Miles Mason, who patented Ironstone China in 1813 (19). The ingredients of this body comprised Cornish stone (growan), flint, and a certain kind of

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7) Portion of a teaset of the London shape. Bone-china, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Staffordshire, factory of Thomas Minton, before 1814. Private collection

hard rock or iron-stone found in Staffordshire; though items of stone-china are not normally considered as porcelain, some do show signs of translucency. They were often decorated with enamelling over a printed underglaze outline, usually in Eastern styles (fig 8); best known is perhaps Spode's Tumbledown Dick pattern, featuring a bird on the branch of a tree in the manner of Chinese famille rose porcelain. Such attractive and durable wares could not fail to have an immediate success, especially with the middling classes, and Josiah Byerley wrote to Josiah II Wedgwood in March 1814 that Everyone enquires for the stone china, made by Spode and Mason and it has a very great run - I presume you know what it is - it is a thick coarse china body, not transparent (20). By 1816 the ware was inquired for by the better sort, they say the blue printed is so common - Spode, Davenport & Mason are the best makers (21), and in 1817 Queen Charlotte herself visited the Spode showroom in Lincoln's Inn Fields and bought a service (22).

The techniques of decoration were now much improved, especially that of transfer-printing. The key to success here was a new machine for making strong tissue paper, invented by the Fourdrinier family, which began producing the paper in 1803 in Frogmore in Berkshire and moved its business to Hanley in

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8) Selection of Spode china, showing in the centre and above stone china printed in the Eastern style, surrounded by hand-painted bone china vases, c.1810-25. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Staffordshire in 1827 (23). This paper allowed first-rate impressions from a copper-plate to be taken, enabling ceramic manufacturers to produce transfer printing on pottery and porcelain as fine as that in book illustration. An even better result could be obtained from "bat" printing, whereby the design was printed in an adhesive oil and powdered colour was dusted over it. The most popular styles continued to be Chinese or Eastern inspired, including the ever popular "Willow Pattern", and soon these wares were to put the Chinese export porcelain market out of business (24). Transfer printing now began to be applied to pottery (creamware) as well as porcelain. A finer quality of transfer became available with the advent of "bat" printing, whereby the design was printed first in an oily substance to which powdered colour was then added. The most popular colour was blue, made from cobalt oxide, which withstood the heat of the firing so well, but underglaze red, green and black were also developed. Enamel overglaze colours were generally added to imitate the rich patterns of Chinese or Japanese origin. An enormous export market developed, the potteries serving countries as far afield as the United States. Simeon Shaw observed that for novelty and elegance of the Pottery secured the demand, which has continued to increase; and in this day, 1829, few manufacturers do not practice the art; and many have several presses constantly employed in Blue Printing (25).

Most of these cheaper wares were intended not for elegant tea-times use, but for daily meals, where durability was more important than display. Dinner services continued to be laid out in the 18th century fashion, with the convention of service à la française ruling, although it was soon to be superseded. The German Prince Fueckler-Muskau published a description of an English dinner in his account of his travels in England in search of a rich heiress: "Since you have never been in England, I should like to describe to you, in a few words, the course of an English dinner which, as I have said, is almost the same everywhere...in the French style you find, when you go in, the whole first course of the meal set out on the table. After the soup is removed, and as soon as the covers have been taken off, every man helps himself from the dish in front of him, and offers it to his neighbour. If he wants something extra, he must either ask across the table for it or send a servant in search of it...when the second course is finished, as well as an intermediate dessert of cheese, salad, raw celery and the like, they bring in ale that is sometimes twenty or thirty years old, and so strong that if it is thrown on the fire it flares up like spirit. The tablecloth is removed and, in the best houses on a still finer tablecloth lying beneath it, in others on the bare, polished table, the dessert is set out. This consists of all possible hothouse fruits, which here are of the finest quality: Indian and English preserves, stomach-strengthening ginger, ice and so on. Before each guest fresh glasses are placed, and under

the dessert plates and cutlery small, fringed napkins are set. Before the hosts three bottles of wine are laid - usually claret (wine of Bordeaux), port and madeira. The host now pushes these, either on their mats or on a small silver trolley, to his neighbour on the left. Everyone serves himself, and if there is a lady sitting beside him serves her too with whatever she wants, and so it goes on until it has come back to the starting-point, and from there it sets forth again. Several crystal jugs of iced water allow the foreigner, fortunately, to mix an antidote to the spirit which strongly predominates in English wines. All the servants leave the room, when the dessert has been served, and if fresh wine is needed the butler is summoned, and he alone brings it in' (26). A dinner service of what appears to be Staffordshire blue tableware can be seen in a watercolour of a table laid out for dinner in 1838 by Mary Ellen Best (fig 9) (27). Dinner was followed by a very late supper at about 10 o'clock, consisting of cold foods such as sandwiches, or occasionally, covered dishes of hot foods. Special supper sets were made in pottery, in which a number of segmental dishes surround a central covered pot to serve the different foods.

However, such a way of dining was beginning to be found increasingly unsatisfactory, both from the point of view of ease of service, and the variety of dishes served. It led to serious

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9) A dinner table laid out in York, showing the arrangement of dishes a la francaise. Watercolour by Mary Ellen Best, 1838

problems of being served, as the writer and politician Thomas Creevey found when he attempted to partake of the fish when dining with Lord Lambton in 1825, and could not engage his Lordship's attention (28), or even a repetitive sense of monotony of diet caused by the eternal succession of soup, fish, roast and side dishes, as described in the memoirs of Captain Gronow (29). Service a la francaise was not destined to remain in favour much longer; by the 1850s most households had adopted the new fashion of service a la russe, imported from Russia, whereby each dish was carved or jointed at the sideboard and served individually in succession. There were protests at first, and the writer Thomas Walker observed in the 1850s that The present system I consider thoroughly tainted with barbarism and vulgarity and far removed from real and refined enjoyment. As tables are now arranged, one is never at peace from an arm continually taking off and setting on a side dish, or reaching over to a wine-cooler in the centre. Then comes the more laborious changing of courses with leanings right and left, to admit a host of dishes, that are set on, only to be taken off again, after being declined in succession by each of the guests, to whom they are handed around (30). However, the great 19th century cookery writer Mrs. Beeton commented on its greater convenience, but observed that Dinners a la Russe are scarcely suitable for small establishments; a large number of servants being required to carve, and to help the guests; besides there being a necessity for more plates, dishes, knives, forks, and spoons, than are usually to be found in any other than a very

large establishment. Where, however, a service a la Russe is practicable, there is, perhaps, no mode of serving a dinner to enjoyable as this (31). By the time that Lewis Carroll's Alice attended her fictional dinner-party in Through the Looking-Glass of 1870, the succession of soup, fish, joint and pudding - all of which she was introduced to - was clear, although the old practice of 'sending back' or rejecting a dish as being superfluous to requirements was clearly still considered good manners.

The stylistic variety of ceramics in Britain was not repeated on the Continent. A certain uniformity of taste became apparent again, with the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte in France, who declared himself Emperor in 1804 (32), and his insistence on the development of a suitable Imperial style of decoration based on Roman prototypes. His designers in this field were the architects Charles Percier (1764-1838) and Pierre Francois Leonard Fontaine (1762-1853). They were both trained in the elegant neo-classical style of the late 18th century, but made it more austere by stripping it of much of its lighter decoration, such as flowers, and concentrating on military symbolism, and emphasizing the heavy architectural elements of the design. The general effect was to overwhelm and impress by size and weight, providing a rather showy background to the life of the Court of Napoleon. Beauty according to him resides only in grandeur Fontaine wrote of Napoleon in March 1808 (33).



Napoleon attempted to impose French taste on the rest of Europe much as Louis XIV had done. It was not simply a measure of cultural domination, but also was designed to encourage French industry and create employment at home, such as the silk weavers of Lyons, who wove new hangings for the royal palaces at vast expense as they had in the 18th century. From 1798 a series of exhibitions of The Products of French Industry were held in order to stimulate industry now that the patronage of the State was less important. They were at first organized by Francois de Neufchateau, later Napoleon's Minister of the Interior (34); and continued after the fall of Napoleon in 1814, and showed a wide range of lavish, and often rather overelaborate, French products (35). They provided the basis of the great International Exhibitions of the mid 19th century.

The once great factory at Sevres came under this cultural domination. The factory regained state support in 1802, and its products were carefully regimented into this system of state direction. The didactic aims of the new regime were demonstrated when the architect Alexandre Brogniart was appointed Director in 1800. His first task had been to remedy the precarious financial situation of the factory; he sacked many workers and sold off many undecorated pieces of soft-paste porcelain from former times. The workshops were now organized into two sections, manufacture and decoration. Brogniart made use of the great

designers, Percier and Fontaine, and the products of this period are all characterized by a certain heaviness of modelling, with much use of overall gilding and painted reserves of figurative or landscape scenes.

Brogniart attempted a twin policy of creating massive pieces for decoration or gifts for the new regime, as well as trying to produce a smaller and lighter range of goods for the public. He stated his policy in a letter to the Baron Mounier in 1814: This outline will give you an idea of the kind of products that the factory makes. I hope that you will be able to see from it that I distinguish between two different goals in so far as I am able...On the one hand, I seek to make objects that through their choice of subjects, size, perfection of painting, richness and purity of ornaments, continue [the] art in its perfection, making still further progress and augmenting the reputation of this venerable establishment by furnishing its outlets with objects worthy of the august personages to whom it belongs, whether they want to use them themselves or make a gift of them....On the other hand, I am having made more ordinary objects, priced to be within the reach of all classes of consumers, but while making these commercial items, I also take care that the principles of good taste and quality of manufacture are scrupulously observed (36).

Many of the grandest and most ambitious pieces were made for

the Bonaparte family, or to commemorate successes of the regime. As in the 18th century, these often took the form of presentation vases. The "vase a bandeau" was designed by Bergeret on strict Greek lines, and painted with a scene of an allegorical representation of the Battle of Austerlitz. Similarly the "vases etrusque a rouleaux" was designed in 1808 by the Court architect Charles Percier, and a specimen of 1813 is painted with ten cameos and a frieze representing the arrival of plundered works of art into the new Musee Napoleon (fig 10). Brogniart had to intervene to prevent this vase's destruction in 1815, which he considered "the finest piece made by the factory" (37). The most significant pieces from the factory are perhaps the two porcelain tables painted with cameo portraits of Napoleon's marshals and Alexander the Great's captains, dating from 1806-1812; one, the Table des Mareschaux, remains in France; the other, the Table des Grands Capitaines, with mounts by the great ormolu maker Pierre-Phillipe Thomire, was given to George IV by a grateful Louis XVIII after the defeat of Napoleon, and then included in all official portraits of the English King (38).

One of the more interesting developments of early 19th century taste was the Egyptian style. Its origin lay in Napoleon's campaigns in Egypt in 1798. Its great monument in ceramics is the great dessert service made for the Emperor of

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10) Vase etrusque a rouleaux. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Sevres, 1813. Musee National de la Ceramique, Sevres (no.1823)

Russia in Moscow, of which a variant made for the Empress Josephine survives in the Wellington Museum, London. The idea was due to the Baron Vivant-Denon, who had attended the campaign, and made drawings that were published in his Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte in 1802. He acted as artistic adviser to the Sevres factory from as early as 1805. On February 5th he wrote to Brongniart: 'I have an idea for a charming group in the Egyptian taste, easy to make, to carry fruits and ices [comports in a dessert service] which would also be suitable for the whole service and the centrepiece. Tell me if you can model the structure faithfully ...if we can be sure of the success of this aspect, we would create a surtout of great monumentality' (39).

This led to the creation of the services now in Moscow and London, which was based largely on designs in Denon's book, with Denon himself playing a major part in its design and decoration. The surtout was designed by the architect Jean-Baptiste Le Peyre, and the plates were painted by Jacques-Francois-Joseph Swebach-Desfontaines, each bearing a different scene in Egypt copied from Denon, painted in sepia monochrome. The borders of 'beau bleu; with gold decorations were designed by Theodore Brongniart, father of the Sevres director. The service was given to Alexander I of Russia after the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 and is now in the Ceramic Museum at Kuskovo outside Moscow, and another version of the service was made for the Empress Josephine as part of her divorce settlement in 1809. However, on its delivery in 1812 she

found it 'trop severe' and sent it back to the factory. It was returned to the factory and finally given to the Duke of Wellington by Louis XVIII in 1818. It now resides with the great collection of such porcelain at his old home of Apsley House, London (fig 11) (40).

Much of the lesser production of Sevres was still intensely ambitious by present day standards, comprising elaborately decorated dejeuners, often fitted into a presentation or travelling case, and complete dinner services, often intended as official gifts. Such wares were of very high quality, painted in the rich style made popular in the 18th century, but with details derived from Roman ornament. An exceptionally fine teaset with tray (dejeuner) in the Victoria and Albert Museum of 1814 is painted with scenes from La Fontaine's fables in the tight enamelled style then popular by the painter Charles Develly; however the Imperial eagles on the border of the tray have covered with royalist arms, as Napoleon fell in that year (fig 12). The cups and saucers are of exquisite quality and worthy as works of art in their own right, and similar shapes, with tall raised handles in the Greek manner, were used for 'cabinet' cups and saucers by all the main factories in Europe.

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11) Ice pail. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Sevres, c.1810. Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London (C.127-1979)

12) Teaset (dejeuner). Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Width of tray 50cm. Sevres, 1814. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

It was in this period that the porcelain factories of Paris came into their own as competitors for the lesser end of the market for porcelain in a much less heavy taste than of Sevres, with less emphasis on heavy overall gilding, and much use of the Arabesque style of the reign of Louis XVI. As we have seen, the factories were largely based in North and North East Paris, but in the early 19th century there were also a large number of decorating workshops as well. The most famous factories were those of Dihl and Guerhard, Dagoty and Nast (41). They made relatively few large presentation vases or dinner services, but an enormous number of tea wares, toilet wares, chocolate cups and saucers, and in general items which we today would class as 'gift' wares for the fashionable lady. Some of these were presented in leather cases in order to make their luxury status clear (fig 13). The Gazette de France for 21 December, 1804, observed: The taste for the forms of the Antique now extends to the most fragile belongings of a fashionable woman: her water jug and sugar bowl must have the shape of a roman vase: her soup bowl must be in the Greek taste, and she would give up taking salt at dinner, if the pot that holds it is neither in the Etruscan nor the Attic fashion (42).

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13) Teaset (dejeuner) in a leather case taken from the coach of Joseph Bonaparte after the Battle of Vittoria in 1813. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Paris (Dihl and Guerard), c.1810. Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London

The popularity continued in Paris for biscuit figures, though increasingly these were static and monumental in conception and often incorporated in centrepieces for the dinner table. As with the elaborate centrepieces made in Germany and Italy over the past twenty years, they were generally set up in the centre of the table at the start of the dinner, so that they were in position during both the first two courses of dinner and the dessert. Such figures are clearly shown, on mirrored trays, in a painting of the wedding feast of Napoleon and Marie-Louise of 1810 (43). They contrast with the English fashion for simple tables and the English visitor Dawson Warren noted their occurrence during a visit to the dealer Jean-Frederic Perregaux in Paris during the peace of Amiens in 1801: the dinner consisted of two handsome courses set around a large plateau ornamented with flowers and biscuit figures. A dessert of fruits and confectionery in all shapes and devises followed, forming a chain of fifty or sixty dishes round the table (44). In general, dinners in France seem to have been shorter and with differences in seating arrangement: the novelist Lady Morgan commented on a visit to France in 1816: As there is rarely head or foot to a French dinner table, the hosts generally occupy the centre. The removes are confined to the middle of the table: there are usually two short courses, with a dessert, and a number of stimulating hors d'oeuvres, almost unknown in the economy of an English table (45).

The French bourgeoisie no longer dined off faience, as the industry had died in 1786, when the French Minister of Finance, de Vergennes, concluded a commercial treaty with England (with much support from Wedgwood) which allowed the import of English earthenware on payment of a purely nominal duty (46). However, by the early 19th century the French had devised a rival to the English creamware centred on the factory at Creil on the outskirts of Paris, founded in 1795. It followed the classical forms of Wedgwood, but decorated with elegant transfer prints, usually in black, of mythological scenes or landscapes, some apparently applied by the firm of Stone, Coquerel and Legros d'Anisy of Paris. The shapes are extremely elegant, and the overglaze printing restrained, the whole providing a suitable utilitarian rival to French porcelain of the period.

The French Empire style of Percier and Fontaine became dominant throughout the rest of mainland Europe in the period 1800-1820. The central role in the formation of taste that France had developed from the 17th century onwards was re-inforced by Napoleon's victories and enforced alliances with other powers, including his marriage to the Austrian Emperor's daughter Marie-Louise in 1810, and his penchant for setting up his relations and Marshals as Kings in their own right, all of whom carried the Empire style across the Continent. It must be said that there is a certain monotony in the endless classical forms that dominate this period, especially when covered by dense gilding framing



tightly enamelled painting in reserve, leaving no trace of the undecorated porcelain to view. These have brought forth the strictures of writer such as W.B.Honey, who have observed that such items have completely lost the historic spirit of the beauty of porcelain, and may as well be made of metal or painted wood (47).

The great German and Austrian State factories fell into this pattern. They continued to use the finest sculptors and designers in the Royal Service, although by now all trace of the rococo frivolity had gone. Figures were still made in these factories, but they were now almost exclusively white and left in the biscuit, and intended to resemble small-scale sculpture as much as possible. There was now little demand for the fanciful porcelain figures of the 18th century for dessert decoration, and by 1835 the German writer Eichendorff records a last sight of them on display during the preparations for a country birthday party, and observed in a garden room a long table was already laid out for the party, coloured shimmered between the artistically folded napkins, in the middle a worthy, old-fashioned centrepiece with wax trees and porcelain figures of Gods, which were reflected in the mirrored base as if in a stream (48).

The leading factories were the State-subsidized factories at Meissen, Berlin, Nymphenburg and Vienna, though again they were subject to vagaries of their country's economic climate and

problems caused by the Napoleonic wars. Some of the distinguished factories of the 18th century, such as Frankenthal, had to close, and lesser porcelain and pottery factories had to withstand the Napoleonic Wars followed by the cold blast of commercial competition from Staffordshire in England.

At Meissen the courtier Marcolini continued in post until 1813, when he was replaced as director by the Inspector of Mines, von Oppel. Von Oppel developed as a specialty porcelain in relief tinted to resemble Wedgwood's Jasper ware, based on specially bought-in specimens. With the coming of peace and the return of the monarchy in 1814 the new technical head, Heinrich Gottlieb Kuehn, set about developing a much wider range of colours to compete with the factory at Sevres, which is specifically mentioned in a document of 1824 (49). The factory made a range of domestic goods and presentation vases in the standard empire style, with much use of gilded decoration, sometimes applied through the printing medium of lithography. Its chief breakthrough at this time was the development of an underglaze green, which was used in some very attractive simple laurel border decoration.

At Fuerstenberg new ideas were put into practice by the Frenchman, Louis-Victor Geverot (1747-1829), who had been appointed manager in 1797. He was much one of the most experienced of all porcelain makers, since he had had a career

that took him right across Europe, starting as a painter at Sevres in the 1760s and working at Hoechst, Fuerstenberg, Frankenthal, Weesp, Schrezeheim, Oude-Loosdrecht, and even in 1786 offering his services to Josiah Wedgwood in Staffordshire, although finally working for Wedgwood's rivals, the Turners of Lane End. At Fuerstenberg he commenced manufacture of copies of reliefs in the Wedgwood style, and factory reforms such as a pension scheme for factory workers. He was greatly favoured when in 1807 the Grand Duchy of Brunswick was incorporated into the new Napoleonic kingdom of Westphalia, but lost his job in 1814 with the collapse of the Bonaparte dynasty. He died in Beuren in 1829 (50).

The factory at Berlin suffered the indignity of French occupation and control during the Napoleonic Wars, although many of its products, such as high-handled Campana form cups and saucers, were in imitation of French taste in any case. The sculptor Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764-1850) continued to provide models for biscuit porcelain, often executed by the talented modeller Johann Karl Friedrich Riese. The most beautiful designs were prepared after the Napoleonic Wars by the great Prussian architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), who devised a range of chaste neo-classical shapes, based on such models as the Medici vase, for the factory. However, his most remarkable work is probably the Persian vase, a curvaceous work intended to evoke the forms and elaborate decoration of the East

(fig 14). It is one of a number of vase forms that were made to act as diplomatic gifts throughout the world (51). Schinkel is also thought to have provided designs in an elegant taste for the German stoneware industry centred on Berlin, which continued into the 19th century.

A similar stylistic pattern can be seen at the factories at Nymphenburg, whose most notable products were large ceremonial vases and gilded and painted Grecian cups and saucers intended more for decoration or souvenirs rather than for use. A whole series of two-handled vases based on amphora type forms were designed by Frederick von Gaertner (1787-1847) (fig 15) and heavily gilt by the gilder Joseph Hammerl (1793-1842) with tight miniature type painting by Christian Adler (1787-1850); many of these survive in the collections at Munich today, together with vases from the factories at Sevres and Naples (52). Cups and saucers based on Parisian models were also made at Munich, but painted with portraits of the Royal family or local events, such as the great Oktoberfest (53).

At Vienna, the factory came under the direction of Mathias

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14) Garniture of 'Persian' vases designed by the architect Schinkel in 1823.. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 68 and 72 cm. Berlin, c.1837-44. London, Sothebys.

15) Vase from the 'Onyx' service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 33cm. Nymphenburg, c.1830. Residenzmuseum, Munich.

Miedermeyer after the death of von Sorgenthal in 1805. He continued the tradition of white biscuit figures and lavishly-decorated pieces in the French style, influenced by his personal friendship with Brogniart of the Sevres factory. Particularly notable was the quality of painting, from the flowers executed by Joseph Nigg to good quality landscapes views from a wide-angle executed by the painters Jacob Schuhfried (worked 1798-1857), Franz Sartory (worked 1799-1841), and Anton Kothgasser (worked at the factory 1784-1840), who is also famous for his enamelled work on glass goblets. Such wares were used as presentation pieces throughout the world (fig 16).

Perhaps the greatest assembly of early 19th century European porcelain is that of the collections at Apsley House, which holds services from Meissen, Berlin and Vienna (54), all specially made as diplomatic gifts for the Duke of Wellington after the Napoleonic Wars. All are heavily gilded and contain painting of a first-rate quality, mostly depicting military scenes; in all the figure decoration is left in the biscuit. The overall effect is of great but sombre magnificence, where the beauty of the porcelain body has been completely lost under a welter of decoration.

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16) Cup and saucer inscribed with the name of the English painter Sir Thomas Lawrence. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height of cup 9.3 cm. Vienna, c.1825. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

The severe outlines and gilded surfaces of early 19th century Continental porcelain found little following in Britain, which had no reason, artistic or political, to follow the Empire style of Napoleon. The most influential ceramics were the wares of the 18th century factory at Sevres - especially those in the florid rococo taste - which became widely collected in this period and set in train a whole movement of faking, copying and stylistic imitation that came to dominate ceramic design in Britain in the period after the Napoleonic wars. It was all part of a revived interest in the products of the French 18th century, which was stimulated by the sale of the furnishings of the French royal palaces that came on the market immediately after the fall of the monarchy and were exported in bulk to the millionaire aristocracy in Britain (55). This taste was centred on the Prince of Wales, later the Prince Regent, and his immediate circle, including Lord Yarmouth, who formed the nucleus of what is today the Wallace Collection, the finest collection of 18th century French art and objets d'art outside France.

Though the Prince of Wales had of course owned Sevres porcelain during the peak of its production in the 18th century, he greatly augmented his collection in the early years of the 19th century, when Sevres once more came into fashion. In 1802 he bought the Duchess of Manchester's Sevres dinner service for the huge sum of 840, which she had been given by Louis XVI in 1783 (56). In 1809 he acquired a magnificent rococo garniture of

1757 of a pot pourri gondole and two vases heberts in rose from the dealer Robert Fogg, a taste which was unlikely to appeal to any other prince in Europe (57). This seems to have been part of a general revival of interest in England in the curvaceous rococo style, whose imitation became the dominant style in the 19th century. Matthew Cotes Wyatt is generally credited with creating the first rococo revival interiors in Britain, in the drawing room at Belvoir Castle decorated for the Duchess of Rutland in 1824, where the style was chosen specifically to blend in with the furniture and tapestries she had bought in Paris in 1814. Real French boiseries were bought for the purpose. The style was brought to London in 1827 by Benjamin Dean Wyatt, who decorated Crockford's Club in St. James Street with a very lavish version of the styles, as was observed at the time: 'the style of decoration has been more-or-less, in its architectural details, strictly copied from the best specimens of Versailles... and other numerous examples of the periods of 'Louis Quatorze' and 'Louis Quinze' (58). In the small-scale decorative arts the earliest traceable examples of the revived rococo style appear to be a salt by Paul Storr of 1809 in the Cleveland Museum of Art (59), or the gilded decoration on the interior of a dessert plate made at Worcester by Barr, Flight and Barr between 1811-1813 (60).

This taste for the French rococo seems to have led to wholesale copying and faking of Sevres porcelain. The fashion was

aided by the decision of the Director of Sevres, Brogniart, to sell off undecorated soft-paste items from 1804 onwards, which were imported to England and decorated in the appropriate style. Dinner-services decorated with simple sprigs of flowers on a white ground, which were unsalable in Paris, were sent to England where the decoration was removed with hydrofluoric acid and refired with rich ground colours, gilding and painting in reserves (61). Soft-paste porcelain in the manner of Sevres was made at Nantgarw and Swansea in Wales (62) and Coalport in Shropshire (63), and some was sent to the china dealer's Mortlock's for decoration in the Sevres manner; the potters of these factories protested to the government in 1814 about the amount of undecorated porcelain being imported from Sevres itself (64). The most deceptive seems to have been a soft-paste factory set up at Madeley in Shropshire by Thomas Martin Randall (1786-1859), who seems to have made a specialty of redecorating old Sevres porcelain in a more lavish manner. He ran an enamelling business of Robins & Randall in Barnsbury Street, Islington, which seems to have continued until 1825. His nephew, John Randall (1810-1910) wrote that he succeeded "in producing a fret body with a rich glaze which bore so close a resemblance to old Sevres china that connoisseurs and famous judges failed to distinguish them. He refused, however, from conscientious motives, to put the Sevres mark, the initials of Louis Louis, crossed at the bottom". However, "Mr. Robins had less hesitation however in putting the Sevres mark on what was known to be



Sevres; and he did very much for Mortlock, Jarman and Baldock, who had agents in Paris, attending all sales where Sevres was to be sold, in redecorating it in the most elaborate and costly manner. The less scrupulous London agents however did not hesitate to pass it off as being really the work of Sevres artists. Indeed they have been known to have boxes of china going up from Madeley, sent on to Dover, to be redirected as coming from France, inviting connoisseurs to come and witness them being unpacked on their arrival, as they represented, from Paris. A little entertainment would be got up and supposing themselves to be the first whose eyes looked on the rich goods after they left the French capital, where it would be represented, perhaps, that they had been bought of the Duc-de...or of Madame some-one, after having been in the possession of royalty, they would buy freely' (65).

This taste for elaborate wares of the 18th century was eventually to lead to the collecting of 'antiques' as we know it today, or small domestic items from the past. We know relatively little of the tastes of the first collectors, such as Lady Blessington (1789-1849), mistress of the dandy the Count d'Orsay, and pioneer collector of Capodimonte, and the banker Henry Fauntleroy (1785-1824), who collected early Meissen and was later hanged for forgery. However, copies of early Meissen china painted with chinoiserie or harbour scenes by Davenport and Nantgarw of about 1815 suggest that the taste for collecting old

Meissen was pretty well established by this time (66).

The taste for lavish porcelain in the rococo style of Sevres also extended to the products of other factories, such as the mid 18th century productions of Meissen. Indeed, the demand from the London dealers for the wares of Meissen of the mid 18th century was sufficient to prevent the factory going bankrupt in the difficult days after the Napoleonic wars, when the factory started making reproductions, after using up their existing stocks of undecorated porcelain. The process seems to have begun with London antique dealers seeking out proper 18th century pieces, before seeking undecorated pieces in the white from the factory (to be decorated later) and finally commissioning reproductions. The factory owners, steeped in the neo-classical style, perceived the taste for the rococo as scurrill (crazy or eccentric), but allowed it to dominate production to encourage visits from dealers from London. In 1828 the Inspector of the factory, Heinrich Gottlieb Kuehn, wrote that the first important foreign business connection definitely developed in 1815 when the chiefs of the London firm Rittner and Saxby came here in person, bought a quantity of old-fashioned wares in the contemporary English taste, and kept an uninterrupted connection with the manufactory from this time on. From the year 1825 onwards, however, this connection became more important and spread to other London firms, among whom Enthoven of London (and later the London dealer Elias Bearkley) did by far the greatest business,

and now became so important for the manufactory that in 1825 the sale to England, almost without exception in objects of the dominant taste of 70 years earlier, realised a sum of 26,261 taler (67). The catalogue of 1846 shows a wide range of these mid 18th century models, including many of the large vases and pieces made for Louis XV, as well as the famous monkey band, describing them 'im Englischen Geschmack' (in the English taste) (fig 17). The taste seems to have spread to Paris itself by about 1834, when the decorator Maurice Andre was exhibiting pieces in the rocaille taste at the 1834 exhibition, including a table-top painted with scenes after Fragonard's Histoire de l'Amour (68).

Thus it was that the rococo style became generally accepted as the style throughout Britain in the 1820s; it was at first accepted as an aristocratic taste and eventually worked its way down to the middle-classes, and then to the rest of Europe. There came into being in England a whole group of porcelain makers of the finest quality who made their fortune from producing ordinary tea- and dinner- wares in the rococo taste. The most famous is that of Rockingham. This was a short-lived factory, founded by the pottery makers Brameld, which was unique amongst British factories in that it gained the direct patronage of an aristocrat, the Earl of Rockingham, in 1826. Most of its

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17) Page from the Meissen illustrated price-list of 1846, showing pieces in the revived rococo taste for the English market.

wares were in the most extravagant rococo style, usually lavishly painted and encrusted with a multitude of applied flowers in the style of 18th century Meissen. In 1827 it produced what is its masterpiece in this style, the pair of 'Rhinoceros' vases (so-called from its finial), probably designed by the manager, Thomas Brameld, himself (fig 18) (69). However the obvious design deficiencies in this technical tour de force have led this to be called 'possibly the most hideous object in the universe' (70), representing the culmination of the uneducated taste in Britain. It represents to an extreme the degeneracy to which British design had sunk in the 1820s.

Standards of design had in fact reached such a low level that the British government was beginning to show concern, not for any reason of taste, but from fear that Britain would lack the ability to compete in world markets, with consequent lack of employment and unrest amongst the masses. A government committee was set up in 1836 to inquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the ARTS, and of the PRINCIPLES OF DESIGN, among the People (especially the Manufacturing Population) of the Country. The committee took evidence from all the leading designers and interested parties in Britain, who were united in their condemnation of the reproduction of Louis Quatorze and Louis Quinze, since, according to the architect J.B.Papworth, twist it

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18) 'Rhinoceros' vase. Bone china, painted in enamel colours with a scene from Don Quixote and gilt. Height 1m 14cm. Rockingham, 1827. Clifton Park Museum, Rotherham.

about as much as they like, it is only copying and copying (71). Papworth himself favoured a rich Roman or Grecian style, but the general feeling of the time was that designers and makers should be thoroughly familiar with the styles of the past in order to produce items which maintained a consistent stylistic unity—the regressive taste dominant in 19th century Europe termed Historicism. As a result, Government schools of design were set up, and official interest in industrial design culminated in the Great Exhibition of 1851, which led in turn to the setting up of the South Kensington (now Victoria and Albert) Museum in Government School of Design at Marlborough House in 1853 (72). From then on, developments in the history of ceramic design were no longer the prerogative of a wealthy aristocracy or landed class, but the result of officially controlled social and economic policies. The great age of 19th century design had begun.

1.Cte. X.de Chavagnac and Mis De Grollier, Histoire des Manufactures Francaises de Porcelaine, Paris, 1906,pp.215-225

2.A.Ledger in The Derby Porcelain International Society: Newsletter No.17, December, 1989, p.3

3.H.Sandon, Flight and Barr Worcester Porcelain 1783-1840, Woodbridge, 1978

4.G.A.Godden, Chamberlain-Worcester Porcelain 1788-1852, London, 1982, pp.39-57

5.It comprised: '2 Ice pails complete, 2 Fruit baskets and stands, 2 Cream tureens and covers, 2 stand (sic) to do, and spoons, 1 centre dish and stand, 4 triangular (shaped) dishes, 4 mellon (sic) (shaped) dishes, 4 shell (shaped) dishes, 2 heart (shaped) dishes, 36 dessert plates. G.A.Gooden, Chamberlain-Worcester Porcelain 1788-1852, London, 1982, p.31

6.c.f. the comment of the Swiss C.P.Moritz on an English breakfast in 1780: The slices of bread and butter they give you with your tea are as thin as poppy leaves. But there is another kind of butter usually eaten with tea, which is toasted by the fire and incomparably good. This is called toast . quoted in A.Palmer, Movable Feasts, Oxford, 1984,

7.G.A.Gooden, *ibid*, p.77

8.A.Palmer, Movable Feasts: Changes in English Eating Habits, Oxford, 1952 (reprint 1984), pp.54-5

9.J.Lees-Milne, The Country House, Oxford, 1982, p.62. See also Fanny Kemble's description of afternoon tea at Belvoir Castle in 1842 in her Later Records, and Georgina Caroline Sitwell's introduction to five o'clock tea through Lord Alexander Russell, son of the 5th Duchess of Bedford, in 1849-50, in D.Sitwell, Two Generations, London, 1940. I owe these references to Mrs.Anne Stevens.

10.Palmer, *op.cit.*, pp.99-100

11.R.Reilly, Wedgwood, London, 1989, p.597

12.J.Morley, The Making of the Brighton Pavillion, London, 198

13.The elegance of the breakfast set forced itself upon Catherine's notice...[the General, her host] was enchanted by her approbation of his taste, confessed it to be neat and simple; and for his part, to his uncritical palate, the tea was as well



flavoured from the clay of Staffordshire, as from that of Dresden or Seve Jane Austen, Northanger Abbey, (1818), quoted in N.J.Pearce, 'Chinese Export Porcelain for the European Market: The Years of Decline 1770-1820', Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, 1987-88, p.35

14.W.Little, Staffordshire Blue, London, 1969, p.16

15.L.Whiter, Spode, London, 1970, p.174. c.f. some commemorative items of bone china, made by Copeland & Garrett (the former Spode factory) in 1834 and inscribed MANUFACTURED from the BONES collected after Entertainments given by MESSRS COPELAND & GARRETT Stoke on Trent To their Workpeople on the 13th and 14th Nov.1834 in Commemoration of their taking the ESTABLISHMENT 1st MARCH 1833 V.Wilkinson, The Copeland China Collection at Treslissick Mansion, Cornwall, 1989, p.19

16.The threat to creamware is first mentioned in the Wedgwood correspondence in 1810. However, creamware continued to be made in the 19th century, the factory even producing a catalogue of shapes in 1817. R.Reilly, Wedgwood, London, 1989, pp.285, 591

17.Spode was allowed to use the term Potter and English Porcelain manufacturer to His Royal Highness, and the Staffordshire Advertiser commented that We cannot but remark that in France the porcelain manufactory always possessed the high sanction and patronage of the Princes of the Blood, and we doubt not but that, under the auspices of our Princes and Nobility, English china will rival the most finished productions of foreign countries, and give to our own manufacturers the whole of this important and valuable trade . Quoted in R.Reilly, Wedgwood, London, 1989, p.590

18.L.Whiter, op.cit., p.191. See also G.A.Godden, The Illustrated Guide to Mason's Patent Ironstone China, London, 1971, pp.7-8

19.G.A.Godden, Mason's China and the Ironstone Wares, Woodbridge, 1980, p.102

20.quoted in R.Reilly, op.cit., p.583

21.Reilly, op.cit., p.584

22.Reilly, op.cit., p.584

23.W.L.Little, Staffordshire Blue, London, 1969, p.19

24.see N.J.Pearce, 'Chinese Export Porcelain for the European Market: The Years of Decline 1770-1820', Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, 1987-88, pp.21-38

25.S.Shaw, History of the Staffordshire Potteries, 1829, p.215, quoted in W.Little, Staffordshire Blue, London, 1969, pp.16-17

26. Pueckler's Progress; the Adventures of Prince Pueckler-Muskau in England, Wales and Ireland as told in letters to his former wife, 1826-9, translated by Flora Brennan, London, 1987, pp.37-9
27. reproduced in P.Thornton, Authentic Decor, London, 1984, fig.332
28. T.Creevey, Papers, vol.II, 24th October, 1825, quoted in J.Lees-Milne, The Country House, Oxford, 1982, p.60
29. The menu of a good dinner was thus composed: Mulligatawny and turtle soups were the first dishes placed before you; a little lower, the eye met with the familiar salmon at one of the table, and the turbot surrounded by smelts, at the other. The first course was sure to be followed by a saddle of mutton or a piece of roast beef; and then you would take your oath that fowls, tongue and ham would assuredly succeed as darkness after day. Whilst the never-ending pieces de resistance were occupying the table, what were called French dishes were, for custom's sake, added to the solid abundance. The French, or side dishes, consisted of very mild but very abortive attempts at Continental cooking, and I have always observed that they met with the neglect and contempt that they merited. The universally-adored and ever-popular boiled potato, produced at the very earliest period of dinner, up to the moment when the sweets appeared. Our vegetables, the best in the world, were never honoured by an accompanying sauce, and generally came to the table cold. A prime difficulty to overcome was the placing on your fork, and finally in your mouth, some half-dozen different eatables which occupied your plates at the same time. For example your plate would contain, say, a slice of turkey, a piece of stuffing, a sausage, pickles, a slice of tongue, cauliflower, and potatoes. According to habit and custom, a judicious and careful selection from this little bazaar of good things was to be made, with an endeavour to place a portion of each in your mouth at the same moment. In fact, it appeared to me that we used to do all our compound cookery between our jaws. He then goes on to describe the dessert wines. The Reminiscences and Recollections of Captain Gronow, London, 1889, vol.1, p.36
30. T.Walker, The Original, quoted in Philippa Pullar, Consuming Passions, London, 1970, p.196
31. I.Beeton, The Book of Household Management, London, 1861, pp.954-5
32. P.Mansel, The Eagle in Splendour: Napoleon I and his Court, London, 1987, p.17
33. quoted in P.Mansel, The Court of France 1789-1830, Cambridge, 1985, p.70



34.R.de Plinval de Guillebon, Paris Porcelain 1770-1850, London, 1972, pp.103-6

35.D.Alcouffe et al, Un Age d'Or des Arts Decoratifs 1814-1848, Paris, Grand Palais, 1991

36.Ce tableau vous donnera aussi une idee du genre des travaux de la manufacture. J'espere que vous pourrez deja y voir que je les divise vers deux buts different autant que j'ai peuvent me le permettre...D'un cote je cherche a faire des objets qui par le choix des sujets, la grandeur des pieces, la perfection des peintures, la richesse et la purete d'execution des ornements, maintiennent l'art dans sa perfection, lui fasse faire encore de nouveaux progres, conserve et augmente la reputation de cet ancien etablissement en assortissant ses magasins d'objets dignes des personnes augustes auquel il appartient sit qu'elles veulent consacrer ces objets a leur usage, soit qu'elles les destinent a en faire des presents...D'un autre cote, je fais executer des objets plus ordinaires, d'un prix qui soit a la portee de toutes les classes de consommateurs mais tout en faisant faire ces objets de commerce, j'ai soin que le bon gout et tous les principes d'une bonne et solide fabrication soient scrupuleusement conserves. M.Brunet and T. Preaud, 'Sevres', Fribourg, 1978, p.242

37.'le plus beau qui soit sorti des ateliers de la Manufacture. M.Brunet and T.Preaud, Sevres: Des origines a nos jours, Fribourg, 1978, p.250

38.G.De Bellaigue, Carlton House: The Past Glories of George IV's Palace, London, The Queen's Gallery, 1991-92, no.52

39.'Il m'est venu dans la tete un charmant groupe (sic) egyptien d'une facile execution pour porter des fruits crus, glaces ou sec et qui, tout a la fois, entrerait dans le service et la decoration du surtout. Dites-moi si vous pouvez avec quelque purete faire de l'architecture...Avec un success assure dans cette partie, nous obtiendrons un surtout tout a fait monumental'. C.Truman, 'Emperor, King and Duke: the Sevres Egyptian Service acquired for the Nation', The Connoisseur, 202, 1979, pp.148-156

40.

41.R.de Plinval de Guillebon, Paris Porcelain 1770-1850, London, 1972, pp.200ff

42.Le gout des formes antiques s'est etendu jusqu'aux meubles les plus fragiles de l'appartement d'une elegante, son pot a l'eau, son sucrier doivent avoir la forme d'un vase romain; sa soupiere doit etre grecque; et elle renoncerait a prendre du sel a table, si la coupe qui le contient n'etait ni etrusque, ni attique.

quoted in R. de Plinval de Guillebon, 'La Porcelaine a Paris sous le Consulat et l'Empire', Bibliothèque de la Société Française d'Archéologie, 18, Paris, 1985, p.38

43.A-M Nisbet and V-A Massena, L'Empire a Table, Paris, 1988, pp.66-7

44.Revd.Dawson Warren, The Journal of a British Chaplain in Paris during the Negotiations of 1801, London, 1913, p.49, quoted in G.de Bellaigue, 'Jean-Frederick Perregaux, the Englishman's Best Friend', Antologia di Belle Arti, 29-30, 1986, p.81

45.E.Suddaby and P.J.Yarrow, Lady Morgan in France, Newcastle, 1971, p.85

46.The faience makers, led by Richard Glot, mayor of Sceaux and owner of the factory there, wrote a letter of protest saying that about 23-240 factories would have to close down, and 32,500 people would lose their jobs. A.Lane, French Faience, London, 19, p.17

47.W.B.Honey, The Art of the Potter, London, 1956, p.86

48.war eine lange Tafel schon festlich gedeckt, buntes Naschwerk schimmerte zwischen den kuenstlich gefalteten Servietten, in der Mitte ein praechtiger, altmodischer Aufsatz mit Pomeranzenbaeumchen von Wachs und porzellanenem Goetterfiguren, die sich in dem Spiegelboden, wie in einem Weiher verdoppelten. Eichendorff, Dichter und ihre Gesellen, vol.1, chapter 12, quoted in U.Erichsen-Firle, Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Koeln: Figuerliches Porzellan, Cologne, 1975, p.20

49.J.Kunze, 'Zur Dekorationsbranche der Meissener Porzellanmanufaktur nach 1814 bis zum Jahre 1860' Keramos, 135, 1992, pp.3-36.

50.B.Hillier, Master Potters of the Industrial Revolution: The Turners of Lane End, London, 1965, pp.41-3

51.W.and I.Baer, Auf Allerhoechster Befehl: Koeniggeschenke aus der Koeniglichen Porzellan-Manufaktur Berlin KPM, Berlin, 1983

52.ed.H.Glaser, Wittelsbach und Bayern: Krone und Verfassung: Ko@nig Max I.Joseph und der neue Staat, Munich, 1980, nos.1232-1236

53.R.Rueckert, 'Wittelsbacher Porzellan: Tassen und Vasen des fruehen 19.Jahrhunderts', Kunst und Antiquaeten, I-III, 1980, pp.30-39, 24-31, 20-35

54.W.Mrazek, 'Das grosse Service fuer den Herzog von Wellington aus der Wiener Porzellan-manufaktur', Alte und moderne Kunst, 10, 1965, no.10, pp.22 ff

55. This was despite the economic blockade of the Napoleonic Wars (the goods were exported via Hamburg).

56. G. de Bellaigue, Sevres: Porcelain from the Royal Collection, London, The Queen's Gallery, 1977-80, no.1

57. G. de Bellaigue, 'Sevres Porcelain from the Royal Collection', Queen's Gallery, London, 1979, nos. 59, 60

58. The Royal Hotel guide to London, 1853-54, p.9, quoted in J.M. Robinson, The Wyatts: an Architectural Dynasty, Oxford, 1979, p.109

59. However, Robert Garrard may have got there first; c.f. the rococo candlesticks of 1765 by John Kentesher with branches by Robert Garrard of 1804 (sold Christies, 13th May, 1992, lot 156) or his two-handled covered cup of 1809 that was with Carrington and Co. in 1959 (advertisement in The Connoisseur, December, 1959)

60. J.V.G. Mallet, 'Rococo English Porcelain: a study in style', Apollo, 90, 1969, p.113, fig.19

61. Savill, 'The Wallace Collection: Sevres Porcelain', London, 1988, p.1167

62. E.M. Nance, The Pottery and Porcelain of Swansea and Nantgarw, 1942

63. In 1816 an announcement in The Courier stated that The Sevre China Manufactory has now Competitors which bid fair to excel in the Article of China. The Manufactories at Coalbrook-Dale and at Swansea having just completed some beautiful specimens, quoted in F.A. Barrett, 'Caughley and Coalport', in ed. R.J. Charleston, English Porcelain 1745-1850, London, 1965, p.110

64. P. Hughes, 'The French Influence on Swansea and Nantgarw', The Connoisseur, CLXXXVIII, 1975, pp.260-7

65. J. Randall, History of Madeley, pp.207-8

66. see H. Coutts, 'Josephine Bowes and the Craze for Collecting Ceramics in the 19th Century', The International Ceramics Fair Handbook, 1992, pp.

67. 'Die erste bedeutende auswärtige Geschäftsverbindung entspann sich naemlich im Jahre 1815, wo die Chefs des Londoner Hauses Rittner & Saxby in Person hierherkamen; eine Parthie veralteter Waren in jetzige englischen Geschmacks kauften, und von dieser Zeit an in ununterbrochener Verbindung mit der Manufaktur blieben. Erst vom Jahre 1825 an wurde diese aber bedeutender und

auch auf mehrere Londoner Handlungshauser, unter denen Enthoven aus London bei weitem die grossten Geschafte machte (spater noch der Handler Elis Bearkley aus London, d. Verf.) ausgedehnt und nun fur die Manufaktur so wichtig, dass im Jahre 1825 der Debit nach England, fast durchgangig in Gegenstanden des vor 70 Jahren herrschenden Geschmacks, eine Summe von 26 261 Talern ausmachte, quoted in J. Kunze, 'Die Bedeutung des 'Englischen Handels' mit Porzellanen im 'Altfranzosischen Geschmack' der Meissner Manufaktur in der ersten Halfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', Keramos, 95, 1982, p.37

68. De Plinval de Guillebon, 1972, p.211

69. A. and A. Cox, 'New Light on large Rockingham vases', Connoisseur, 173, 1970, pp.238-243

70. G. Reitlinger, The Economics of Taste: Volume II: The rise and fall of objets d'art prices since 1750, London, 1963, p.53

71. S. Bury, 'The lengthening shadow of Rundell's', The Connoisseur, February, 1966, pp.79-80

72. J. Physick, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1982, p.16

Conclusion: European Design in the Period 1500-1800; Taste, Decorum, Economics, Morality and Fashion, and some modern approaches

The ceramics discussed in this study were made for only a very small proportion of society. They are nearly all items on which many man hours were expended in their manufacture, and could be bought only by the very rich. Since they were made for the wealthy, they probably formed only a tiny percentage of the baked clays objects that were made for domestic use in Europe in the period 1500-1830. Most of these would have been simple pottery in form and decoration, similar to those shown in Velazquez's Old Woman Cooking Eggs, and should properly form the backbone to any review of ceramics in this period in Europe. One of the reasons why such objects are not better known and discussed is that their constant usage and low value has led to their being broken and discarded without any great regret; early pottery is hardly ever/ found repaired with metal rivets, in the way of porcelain, for example, and, when they do survive, their simple appearance makes them very difficult to date and fit into a chronological framework. Their cultural significance is perhaps better appreciated and studied by the post-medieval archeologist than the lover of fine pottery and porcelain.

So why so much space be devoted to objects made for a minority, which might well give a very misleading impression about the nature of artifacts from the past? The reasons are I think threefold:

Firstly, many of them are of great beauty, and rank high in the order of man's created things. Though the concept of beauty and visual significance is a highly contentious issue, and the subject of separate studies in its own right, most of the ceramics illustrated in this study do seem to me to have a grace and beauty in their design that ranks them high in the order of man-made things, although they unfortunately share in the rather low esteem in which the decorative arts have been held for the last hundred years. It is true that no ceramic, unless perhaps it is figurative in the sculptural sense, possesses the emotional impact or significance of a great painting or sculpture, but many still possess great beauty, often enhanced by quality of workmanship and fineness of material. The taste of the present century, following the precepts of the Arts and Crafts Movement, has tended to dictate a preference for simple things, which has tended to favour the austere forms and decoration of early Chinese ceramics and modern studio pottery. But, as I have tried to show in the introduction, this is in itself a historical attitude, based on the valuing of things as the creation of one man or creative artist, which downgrades the work of a production team, which might encompass a whole range of

stylistic and technical influences, giving its products a rather mechanical appearance (or better expressed, a high finish which we have come to associate with machine made goods).

Secondly, and most importantly from the point of view of this study, ceramics are fully representative of the history of design, and partake of all the influences that have affected the design of furniture, textiles, metalwork, and all other artifacts for the last few centuries. To some extent it would have been possible to write this study in the same format, but with reference to other materials, treating (for example) 18th century furniture or silver, as well as ceramics, as an aspect of the rococo, or neo-classicism, or whatever style was dominant in the period. However, the ceramic material has a versatility that gives it links with sculpture and painting and other forms of 'high art', and makes it thus a richer quarry for study.

Thirdly, high quality ceramics provide insights into the way of life and assumptions of fashionable society, which, although not of universal import, allow us to keep in contact with the life of our forebears. Although many today might gib at the disparities of wealth that led to the creation of such elaborate objects and may see them as in some way 'immoral', in that they represent - or can be taken to represent - years of exploitation of the poorer classes, they do represent a certain peak of human technical and artistic achievement at any given time. They are



the 'style leaders', the objects that came to be imitated throughout all classes of society, albeit in simpler forms and different materials, and through which some of the poorer sort came to share something of the standards of comfort and elegance of the richer classes. The most obvious case in ceramic history is the spread of creamware in the later 18th and 19th century, whereby both the aristocracy and the middling classes came to use the same type of ceramic before it percolated down to even lower classes.

If we accept the approach of considering only a narrow segment of artifacts to throw light on a wider cultural whole, certain deductions about the nature of, and issues relating to, the history of design, come across from which one make generalizations about the nature of design through the ages. Two themes seem to re-occur:

1) the importance of, and respect for, tradition. Items that seek to be saleable generally have to have traditional uses that customers can perceive and relate to. Cups and saucers would have been of little use to our medieval forebears, who had no knowledge of tea and coffee, as noted by the Victorian humorist Richard Harris Barham:

How our ancestors managed to do without tea/I must fairly confess  
is a mystery to me/Yet your Lydgates and Chaucers/Had no cups and  
saucers (1).



It is reasonable to assume that change in everyday life is reasonably slow, and that one can construct a consistent history of artefact type from this, whereby the development of each item can be traced back to a period before. However, after a certain time, we may forget the original use, and be perplexed by the nature of old objects. The periods seem to date by generations- we eat meals and decorate our rooms in a way which is not dissimilar from that of our parents, but different from our grandparents, and would possibly be unrecognizable to our great grandparents. One of the functions of this study has been to trace back the origin of many fashions and usages relating to eating, entertainment and room decoration, which we now take for granted.

2) running parallel with this, and in some ways contradicting it, is the importance of novelty and change as a stimulus for selling consumer goods. The desire for 'needless' change in the form of an ever-increasing variety of consumer goods seems to be peculiar to Western culture and is the basis of our modern consumer society, whereby a large proportion of the population is engaged in the production of 'unnecessary' replacement or surplus items for the modern mass market. Today it is something that most Westerners take for granted, but in the past it was the privilege of only the rich, and the poor had to make do with inferior items or cast-offs that were used until they fell to bits. Novelty and variety, or something which could contain an element of personal

choice or taste, was a prerogative of the richer classes.

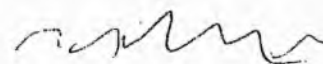
The period 1450-1830, although extensive, forms a relatively coherent époque in the history of the decorative arts. Taste, in the sense of a knowledgeable understanding of the visual sources of design, with the ability to select their appropriate use, was a province of the educated upper classes, a tiny section of society. It was based on a foundation of classical knowledge, which acknowledged the superiority of the rules of classical architecture and design, and the significance of the allusions of classical decorative motifs. Such values were bolstered a hierarchical social order, whether headed by a king, as at the Court of Louis XIV in France, or a whole class of landed gentry, as in 18th century England, and the Classical style Gods and Emperors reigned accordingly.

However, taste did not remain static, but developed and altered in accordance with society (2). Since society altered relatively little in this period, the ideas of its governing class altered little, being based on a land-owning hierarchy, we can speak of a continuous 'rule of taste' in the 18th century and before. The major feature was the role of architecture and the prominence accorded to the designs of architects as a basis for the decorative arts. Their essential values were balance, symmetry and restraint. Though this is less apparent in the design of ceramics and silver, which could easily gain

inspiration from the flamboyant skills of the sculptor and carver, it dictated the design of many products made by the potter, as well as the overall arrangement of dishes on the table or vases on the chimneypiece. Furthermore, knowledge of Classic art dictated a hierarchy of materials, with bronze classed as the 'noblest' material, and in general gold and silver classed higher than the exotic substance of porcelain. The 'ignoble' material of pottery only came to prominence with the work of Josiah Wedgwood in the late 18th century. The light-weight materials of ceramics had to compete and fit into this pattern.

Such rules and hierarchies could be broken, but only with conscious knowledge, wit and humour. It is here that we have to understand what was accepted taste in order to appreciate change and deviation. Rules were broken for the sake of change, most obviously in Mannerist design of the Renaissance, with its emphasis on fantastic ideas, and the deliberate asymmetry of the rococo period. The appreciation of the deliberate misuse of stylistic rules and designs was all part of the fun, the equivalent of the recognition of the products of the Memphis design group of the 1980s, which similarly made cunning use of visual references to 1950s mass-produced design for a visually educated audience. But to break rules through ignorance or poverty indicated a lack of knowledge and led to a breakdown of decorum, the ancient idea of suitability and appropriateness, and brought down the disapproval of those with established taste. We

can take as an example Horace Walpole's criticism of the painted room in imitation of Wedgwood at Osterley Park by Robert Adam, which he considered as too trivial to end a sequence of state rooms (3). The taste of the Oriental art or chinoiserie, so central to the European appreciation of ceramics, seems to sweep across Europe in the late 17th and 18th centuries, but was only really considered suitable for small rooms or outside pleasure pavilions - hence the existence of the 'Brighton Pavilion' by the seaside, rather than the 'Royal Palace' of Brighton, in order not to upset the suspicion of frivolous styles evinced by those that shared the same cultural upbringing as Horace Walpole.

This concept of endless change within strict barriers of decorum leads us into the concept of fashion, whereby items are changed on a regular basis, regardless of whether they are worn out or not - most obviously, in clothing for the human body. In ceramics small decorative items offer the greatest possibilities of change, and we have already seen that the design of vases or toys, or other items intended as gifts, changed faster than that of large dinner services. It is difficult to know the extent with which the rich were willing to order a new dessert-service or tea-set with the same regularity that they ordered new clothes. The inscriptions on the prints of Boucher's biscuitware enfants (Chapter 7) from Sevres suggest that the essentially temporary nature of such items was recognized at the time.   
Constant refinements of cooking would have meant that expensive

food had to be complemented by expensive and fashionable ceramic utensils, that might have accounted for only a small proportion of the total cost of entertaining. It is noticeable that ceramics are most often associated with temporary or fragile structures, akin to the yearly changing of clothes, such as porcelain rooms, which are generally associated with the great initiators and consumers of fashion through the ages - women.

This taste for ceramics was seen in the 18th century as lighter or somewhat feminine or effeminate, despite the leading role taken by the great German Electors in promoting it (4). It was in this century that the great porcelain rooms of the German Princes of the late 17th and 18th century changed into the china closets, shown only to favoured visitors by the lady of the house, of the late 18th century. The key players here may have been the King's mistresses in France, Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry, who seem to have almost limitless funds to spend on items of conspicuous consumption (5). This led to ideas by male designers being taken up for a predominantly female clientele. We have seen how in the early days of the Classical revival the ideas of a small group of architects and designers in Rome in the 1740s were adapted to women's dress by the 1760s. Here novelty and a desire for change are the key idea, combined with the expression of wealth, status and individuality through personal adornment. Textiles seem to have led in the way in new fashions in the 17th and 18th centuries: even in the late 17th

century, the fabrics that hung on walls and were made into clothes were vastly more expensive than furniture and most china. The patterns of fabrics changed every year, although the cut could often remain static, and such patterns had an impact on the design of ceramics, such as those from Rouen, which gained ideas from the 'bizarre' silks of the 17th century, and how the lighter decoration of the later 18th century was copied from sprigged dresses.

Ceramics can of course also be studied from the point of view of industrial production and national economic policy. The backbone of this study has in many ways been changes in industrial process as well as design, which led to the development of fashionable European ceramics from tin-glazed through to porcelain, and back to Wedgwood's Jasperware or stoneware and a white lead-glazed pottery, taking place in the face of fierce competition between different materials over the centuries. Similarly in economic theory the view of mercantilism obtained for years, whereby each country sought to snatch a finite slice of trade from its neighbours. Thus it made sense to subsidize each manufacture, as this would keep specie in the country. The organization and direction of many factories was established by the court, since so many factories were state-subsidized, and many operatives were bound to the factory, and not allowed to give away its secrets. It was only with the coming of 'laissez-faire' economics in the late 18th and 19th centuries

that most factories were free to peddle a wide variety of designs and goods, since they were no longer seen as ambassadors of the State.

This rivalry leads on to the concept of nationalism within Europe in matters of design. For much of this period, changes in taste and fashion in Europe seem to have come from Italy and France. This was due to prestige of classicism from Italy, and the wealth of the French court as a symbol of a royalist and aristocratic society. The only alternative social orders were those of Holland, ruled by a merchant class, and of Great Britain, ruled by an aristocratic oligarchy, which generally put too little into the development of luxury trades to rank as leaders of fashion. It was then that Englishmen and other Europeans were torn between the desire for fancy French fashions, acknowledged to lead the world, and distrust of 'French frippery.' This distaste for foreign habits was often allied to a sense of moral purpose, opposed to extravagance, as in Germany in the latter half of the 18th century (Chapter 12).

By the 19th century, many of these traditions had come to be broken down. Although nationalism has continued long into the 20th century, the Industrial Revolution meant that wealth was no longer the prerogative of a single landed class, but was in the hands of new families who lost no time in emulating the lifestyles of established families, but without the same

understanding of the rules of taste and restraint that went with a classical education. The lavish decorative style of the Prince Regent at Carlton House (6) developed into the gout Rothschild of the mid 19th century, and eventually became the style of every Victorian middle-class drawing room. This was aided by the rise of industrial production, whereby machines could create a large number of consumer goods at a far faster rate, and with more regularity, than human hand. Thus vast quantities of lavish and over-decorated consumer goods became available to a much wider group of the population, putting pay to the idea of richness of decoration equalling wealth. In practice, this meant that all styles were possible at once, since there was money for all, giving rise to the 'battle of the styles' of the 19th century. In the field of ceramics, this means that there is as much to discuss in the literature of ceramics for the period 1830-1900 as there is the whole of the preceding four hundred years, much of it documented by factory records or government reports. This subject really requires a book to it itself.

In this study I have tried to collect together some of the different strands that make up ceramic history of the early modern period, and tried to achieve some kind of balance between the concerns of the art historian, the museum curator, the collector and the social historian in a loose framework which gives an overall picture of what is, in effect, an important slice of Western civilization over five hundred years. Many



important issues have only been touched on, and there is ample story for developing ideas and knowledge. I hope that a broader and more general understanding of the objects for domestic use called the "decorative arts" - so much the most accessible kind of art of the past - may result.

1. Richard Harris Barham, The Ingoldsby Legends, 1840, quoted in J. Green, Consuming Passions, London, 1985, p.232
2. Taste in its wide sense is an affair of fashion, in its narrow sense an affair of discrimination, and discrimination itself is generally affected by, if not actually based on, the influence of fashion....Certain peoples have a continuity of civilization, which has underlain all the successive changes of fashion; other, ourselves included, are younger in that respect and have not been able to rest their fashions on so solid or permanent a basis. J. Steegman, The Rule of Taste from George I to George IV, London, 1936, p.191
3. The last chamber after these two proud rooms, chills you: it is called Etruscan, and is painted all over like Wedgwood's ware, with black and yellow small grotesques. Even the chairs are of painted wood. It would make a pretty waiting-room in a garden. I never saw such a profound tumble into the Bathos. H. Walpole on a visit to Osterley Park, 1778, quoted in [Victoria and Albert Museum] Osterley Park [Guide], London, 1977, p.55
4. B. Hillier, Pottery and Porcelain, London, 1968, p.279
5. see G. Reitlinger, The Economics of Taste: Volume II: The Rise and Fall of objets d'art prices since 1750, London, 1963, pp.22-37
6. G. de Bellaigue, Carlton House: The Past Glories of George IV's Palace, The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, London, 1991-92

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- 7) Jan Steen (1626-79). Twelfth Night Feast, featuring a Westerwald stoneware tankard. Royal Collection, London
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- 9) Tankard (Krug). Grey stoneware, with moulded and incised decoration, with some painting and gilding. Height 16.7cm. Freiberg, c.1670. Hetjens-Museum, Duesseldorf (Nr. Sp.174)
- 10) Bottle/jug. Brown stoneware, with two bands of marbled decoration and applied moulded decoration including busts of William and Mary. Fulham, workshop of John Dwight, c.1690. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
- 11) Lydia Dwight on her deathbed. Stoneware. Fulham, workshop of John Dwight, c.1673. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 12) Tradecard of James Morley of Nottingham, showing a variety of stoneware pieces, c.1700. Engraving. Bodleian Library, Oxford
- 13) Mug with sprigged decoration of hunting scenes. Stoneware, height 23cm. Vauxhall, London, 1729. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

## Chapter 5

- 1) The Beckford-Gagnieres vase. Chinese celadon vase of the late 13th century mounted in silver-gilt mounts. Drawing by Roger de Gagnieres, 1713. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- 2) Flask of Chinese porcelain bearing the coat-of-arms of Philip II of Spain (1556-90). Hard-paste porcelain, painted in underglaze blue. Height 30.5cm. Jingdezhen, China, late 16th century. London, Christies
- 3) Detail from Interior of a Room hung with Pictures. Flemish School, c.1600. National Gallery, London
- 4) Still life. Jacob van Hulsdonck (1582-1647). Oil on panel, 65.4 X 106 cm. The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, Co.Durham
- 5) Drawing of maiolica decoration imitating Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, from the manuscript of Piccolpasso's Art of the Potter (Victoria and Albert Museum, London)
- 6) Plaque. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Height 62cm. Delft, signed by Frederik van Frytom and dated 1659. The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv.475)
- 7) Plate painted in imitation of Chinese Wan Li porcelain. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Haarlem or Delft, c.1660. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.
- 8) Garniture of five vase from the Vung Tau cargo. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in underglaze blue. Height of tallest 22cm. Chinese, Jingdezhen, c.1690.
- 9) Vase. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Height 75cm. Delft, the Young Moors Head factory, c.1700. Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai
- 10) Design for the decoration of a room in the Chinese taste. Engraving. Daniel Marot (1663-1752)
- 11) attributed to Nicolas Verkolje (1673-1746). A Dutch family at tea. Oil on canvas, c.1715-20. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 12) Teapot. Red stoneware. Height 11.5cm. Delft, factory of Ary de Milde, c.1690. Musée National de la Ceramique, Sevres (inv.2 224)
- 13) Tulip vase and two flasks. Tin-glazed earthenwares, painted in colours and gilt. Height of vase 24cm. Delft, the Greek 'A' factory. Private collection
- 14) Plate painted with 'parasol ladies', after a design by Cornelius Pronk. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Diameter 27cm. Arita, Japan, c.1740. Private Collection.



- 15) Mug inscribed JAMES & ELIZABETH GREENE ANNO 1630/ THE GIFT IS SMALL, GOODWILL TO ALL. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Height 15.5cm. London, Southwark, 1630. Museum of London, London (No.A.6807)
- 16) Posset pot. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue and dated 1687. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- 17) Plate painted with a scene of Adam and Eve. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Probably Lambeth, London, c.1650
- 18) Selection of Delftware, showing the range of shapes and styles 1700-1750. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
- 19) Tulip vase, from a design by Daniel Marot (1663-1752). Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Height 100cm. Delft, the Greek 'A' factory, c.1690. The Royal Collection, Hampton Court
- 20) Pair of pyramidal tulip-holders. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Delft (the Greek A factory), c.1700
- 21) Drawing showing the layout of dinner at the Palace of Marly in 1702. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.
- 22) Jean Berain (1640-1711), Design for a silver ewer. Pen and black ink with grey wash, 40.2 X 26.7 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm
- 23) Drawing of a faience ewer from Rouen (from Pottier, Histoire de la Faience de Rouen)
- 24) Designs from plate borders, painted in blue. (from Pottier, Histoire de la Faience de Rouen, pl.XVIII
- 25) Plate with decoration a la corne. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Rouen, c.1750-60. Musee Ceramique, Rouen.
- 26) Jean Berain (1640-1711), Grotesque. Engraving.
- 27) Dish. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in blue. Moustiers, factory of Clerissy, c.1710. The British Museum, London
- 28) Plate. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Moustiers, c.1750. Diameter 10 1/8 inches. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

## Chapter 6

- 1) J.D.Ridinger (1698-1767) , Kaffee und Chocolata, copper-engraving, c.1730
- 2) Coffee pot and tea-pot. Brown stoneware, painted and gilded in the style of oriental lacquer. Height of coffee pot 19.8cm. Meissen, c.1715. The Smithsonian Institute, Washington.
- 3) Figure of Polichinello. Brown stoneware, painted in 'cold' colours. Height 16cm. Museum fuer Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt-am-Main.
- 4) Tea- and coffee-set with gilding by Bartholomaeus Seuter. Hard-paste porcelain, with gilding. Porzellansammlung, Dresden
- 5) Glass cooler (monteith). Hard-paste porcelain, painted in monochrome with a border of Laub- und Bandelwerk and gilt. Width 50cm. Vienna, factory of Du Paquier, c.1735. Museo Civico, Turin
- 6) Tea-pot. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Venice, factory of Francesco and Giuseppe Vezzi, c.1725
- 7) Vase signed on the base by J.G.Hoeroldt, 1726. Porzellansammlung, Dresden.
- 8) Engraving of Chinese scene by J.G.Heroldt, 1726
- 9) Plate from the Christie-Miller service, painted after an engraving by Johann Wilhelm Baur. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Diameter 29.5cm.
- 10) Tureen, cover and stand. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in the Kakiemon style in enamel colours. Height 24cm. Meissen, c.1730. Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire
- 11) Model of a pelican swallowing a fish, modelled by J.J.Kaendler. Hard-paste porcelain. Meissen, c.1732. Porzellansammlung, Dresden.
- 12) Borders of Meissen dessert wares, from a catalogue of the early 19th century
- 13) Engraving by Francis Barlow (c.1626-1702) after an engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677), from the Neu-vollstaendiges Reissbuch, Nuremberg, 1700.
- 14) Plate from the Swan service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Diameter 15 inches. Meissen, c.1738
- 15) Detail from 'The wedding of Joseph II and Isabella of Parma', 1760. Schoenbrunn, Vienna
- 16) Figures of The Scowling Harlequin and The Greeting Harlequin.

Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Average height 16cm. Meissen, c.1740

17) Group of The Seller of Heart-shaped Boxes. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Meissen, c.1738. Pauls-Ebenweiss Collection, Basle.

18) Table-centrepiece in the form of a fountain. Hard-paste porcelain. Meissen, 1745. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

19) Chamber pot (bordalou). Hard-paste porcelain, painted with enamel colours with a scene after Watteau and gilt. Meissen, c.1740

20) Vase from a set of The Elements, made for Louis XV in 1741-2. Hard-paste porcelain. Porzellansammlung, Dresden.

## Chapter 7

- 1) L. Jacob, engraving after Nicolas Lancret (1690-1743): Le Matin
- 2) Francois Boucher (1703-1770), Rocaille. Engraving.
- 3) Juste-Aurele Meissonnier (1695-1750), Design for a Table Centrepiece ('Surtout de table') for the Duke of Kingston. 1735. Engraving.
- 4) Jean Baptiste Le Prince (1734-81) after Francois Boucher (1703-70), La Chasse. Engraving
- 5) Vase and flowers of porcelain of Vincennes porcelain presented by Princess Marie-Josophe of Saxony to her father-in-law Augustus III in 1749
- 6,7) Unglazed (biscuit) figure of 'The Little Confectioner' modelled by Etienne-Maurice Falconet after Francois Boucher, 1757, together with engraving by Falconet junior
- 8) Dejeuner Herbert of five pieces. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Sevres, 1752-53. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.
- 9) Vase Duplessis a enfants. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours with a bleu celeste ground and gilt. Height 24cm. Sevres, 1753. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.
- 10) Pot-pourri vase in the form of a ship (vaisseau a mat), with a central panel of Chinese figures framed by ground colours in pink, green and blue. Sevres, about 1760. Louvre, Paris.
- 11) Reconstruction of a garniture made for Madame de Pompadour, featuring a pot pourri vaisseau and accompanying vases and candlesticks
- 12) Reconstruction of a garniture made for Madame de Pompadour, featuring a clock and accompanying vases
- 13) J.B.Oudry. Illustration to Lafontaine, Fables, Paris, 1755-59
- 14) Setting for a dinner of fifteen or sixteen dishes, engraving from Vincent La Chapelle, Le Cuisinier moderne (The Hague, 1742)
- 15) Tureen from service made for Gustav III. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Sevres, c.1771. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm
- 16) Drawing from the Leeds pottery pattern books showing an olio pot in both silver and china shapes. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 17) Bottle cooler. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel

colours and gilt. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

18) J.B. Moreau (Moreau le Jeune), Le Souper Fin, engraving from Le Monument de Costume (Paris, 1783), showing a wine-glass cooler (verriere) on the side-table.

19) Drawing of an ice-pail, annotated to show its use. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

20) Table centrepiece in the rococo style of a tureen on a stand. Lead-glazed earthenware. Paris, Pont-aux-Choux factory, c.1750. Height of tureen 30.5 cm. The Art Institute, Chicago.

21) Clock case. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in enamel colours. Strasbourg, factory of Paul Hannong, c.1750. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

22) Tureen. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in enamel colours. Marseilles, factory of the Veuve Perrin, c.1760. Musee Contini, Marseilles

## Chapter 8

- 1) Wall-light in the rococo style. Tin-glazed earthenware, painted in colours. Hoechst, c.1746-7.
- 2) Johann Elias Nilson (1721-88). Neues Caffeehaus. Engraving
- 3) Group emblematic of Spring. Hard-paste porcelain painted in enamel colours and gilt. Hoechst, modelled by Johann Friedrich Lueck, 1758
- 4) Group of Amyntas and Sylvia after Francois Boucher. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in colours. Hoechst, modelled by Johann Peter Melchior, c.1770
- 5) Group of children with a bird-cage. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Berlin, modelled by Heinrich Reichart, c.1755
- 6) Tureen and stand from the service made for Frederick the Great for the Palace of Sans Souci. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gold. Berlin, 1769-70
- 7) Group of a fashionably-dressed couple. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Fuerstenberg, modelled by Simon Feilner, c.1760
- 8) Plate painted after a print of Astronomy after Jacob Amigoni. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in colours. Fuerstenberg, 1750-55
- 9) Group representing 'Spring'. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Frankenthal, modelled by Johann Wilhelm Lanz, c.1755
- 10) Group emblematic of Autumn. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Frankenthal, modelled by Johann Wilhelm Lanz, c.1755
- 11) Figure of Isabella from the commedia dell'arte. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Nymphenburg, modelled by Franz Anton Bustelli, c.1755-60
- 12) Tureen and stand. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Nymphenburg, c.1755
- 13) Vase. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Ludwigsburg, painted by Gottfried Friedrich Riedel, c.1765
- 14) Figure of a horn-player. Ludwigsburg, c.1770
- 15) Farmer's wife and vintner. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Fulda, probably modelled by Georg Ludwig Bartholome, c.1775

- 16) Coffee-pot. Hard-paste porcelain, painted with a scene after Nilson in enamel colours and gilt. Zurich, c.1770
- 17) Coffee pot. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours with the arms of Cardinal Stoppani and gilt. Doccia, c.1755
- 18) The Deposition after Soldani-Benzì. Hard-paste porcelain. Height 28cm. Florence, Doccia, c.1760. The British Museum, London
- 19) Section from the porcelain room from the Palace at Portici. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples
- 20) Jam pot and stand. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt at The Hague. Tournai, c.1780

## Chapter 9

- 1) Anonymous English, c.1720. A family at Tea. Goldsmiths' Hall, London
- 2) Design for a plate sent by Leake Okeover of Derbyshire to China in 1738. 22.8cm
- 3) Plate with the coat-of-arms of Leake and Mary Okeover, sent to England in 1740 or 1743. Chinese (Jingdezhen), hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Diameter 22.8 cm (9in)
- 4) Figures of Henry Woodward and Kitty Clive in Garrick's farce Lethe. Soft-paste porcelain. Height 27cm. Bow, c.1750. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
- 5) 'Goat-and-bee' jug. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Height 11.5cm. Chelsea, c.1745. Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire
- 6) Crayfish salt. Porcelain, painted in enamel colours, possibly in the workshop of William Duesbury. Width 12.5cm. Chelsea, c.1745-9
- 7) Crayfish salt. Silver gilt, width 12.7cm. London, Nicholas Sprimont, hallmarked for 1742-3. The Royal Collection, London
- 8) Plate with moulded border. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Diameter 23cm. Chelsea (the decoration attributed to Jeffryes Hamett O'Neale), c.1753. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 9) Group of The Music Lesson. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 46cm. Chelsea, c.1760. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- 10) Tureen, cover and stand. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height of tureen 23.7cm. Chelsea, c.1763. New Campbell Museum, New Jersey
- 11) Tureen in the form of a melon. Soft--paste porcelain painted in enamel colours. Height 15.5cm. Longton Hall, c.1756. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 12) Chinese group representing Hearing, from a set of the Five Senses. Porcelain, height 20.3cm. Derby, c.1752-5
- 13) Plate painted with a central scene of game birds. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Diameter 22.5cm. Worcester, painted in the workshop of James Giles, c.1765. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 14) Pull from the copper-plate with the 'Fisherman' pattern. Victoria and Albert Museum, London



15) Pull from the copper-plate with an early version of the "Willow" pattern. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

## Chapter 10

- 1) Dish with Adam and Eve. Red earthenware, covered in white slip with trailed red slip decoration. Signed Thomas Toft 1674. Diameter 55.9cm. Staffordshire, Thomas Toft, 1674. Temple Newsam House, Leeds (16.499/47).
- 2) Mug and beaker. Red stoneware with sprigged decoration. Height of mug 11.8cm. Staffordshire or London, possibly Elers workshop, c.1700. Temple Newsam House, Leeds (20-21/70)
- 3) Drabware teapot and enamelled salt-glazed stoneware teapot. Heights 4.25 and 3.75 inches. Staffordshire, c.1740 and c.1760. County Museum, Truro
- 4) 'Pew Group'. Salt-glazed stoneware, with enamelled decoration. Height 6.5 inches. Staffordshire, c.1730. Burnap Collection, Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas.
- 5) Salt-glazed stoneware sauce boat block attributable to Ralph Wood, 1756, and excavated biscuit sherds from the factory of Humphrey Palmer. Staffordshire, c.1760. City Museum, Stoke-on-Trent.
- 6) Flower block. Salt-glazed stoneware, with incised cobalt ('scratch blue') decoration. Length 6.75 inches. Staffordshire, c.1750. County Museum, Truro
- 7) Coffee pot. Mixed 'wedged' lead-glazed earthenware (agateware). Height 26.5cm. Staffordshire, c.1740. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
- 8) Mug, salt-glazed stoneware, with incised blue decoration, dated 1749; coffee-pot, salt-glazed stoneware with enamelled decoration, Staffordshire, c.1750; teapot, salt-glazed stoneware (drabware) with applied decoration, Staffordshire, c.1740; jug, red stoneware, Staffordshire or Nottingham, c.1700; Height of mug 14.9cm. Temple Newsam House, Leeds
- 9) Teapot and coffee pot. Creamware, decorated in mixed glazes to give the effect of tortoiseshell. Teapot height 11.6cm. Staffordshire, c.1760. Private collection.
- 10) Teapots moulded in the form of fruit and vegetables. Creamware, decorated with coloured glazes. Height 5.25cm. Staffordshire, c.1765. County Museum, Truro

## Chapter 11

1) Frontispiece to G.B.Passeri's Picturae Etruscorum in vasculis, Rome, 1767-75, showing the discovery of 'Etruscan' vases.

2) Sevres vase shapes of the later 1760s (from Rosalind Savill, The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Sevres porcelain, London, 1989)

3) Vase 'antique ferre' painted with a military scene. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 41 cm. Sevres, c.1765-70. Paris, Louvre

4) Group of five vases in the neo-classical taste, the smaller pair datemarked for 1764. Height, 53.8 to 38 cm. Photograph courtesy of Antique Porcelain Company, London.

5) Vase in the neo-classical taste, probably designed by E.M.Falconet. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours with a scene of Pygmalion after a group by Falconet and gilt. Height 46.5cm. Sevres, c.1765-70. The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor, England

6) Icepail. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 23.7cm. Sevres, 1778. The Wallace Collection, London

7) Figure of Cupid as L'Amour Menacant. Soft-paste porcelain, unglazed, on a stand painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 30.4cm. Sevres, 1761-63. The Wallace Collection, London

8) Engraved trade card of William Duesbury's premises in Covent Garden, c.1773

9) Jean-Jacques Saly (1717-76). Design for a vase.

10) Vase on stand. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Derby, c.1773. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (C.180-1987)

11) William Wyland, after Angelica Kauffmann. The Three Graces Adorning Pan. Stipple Engraving, 1776

12) Group of 'The Graces Adorning Pan'. Unglazed (biscuit) porcelain. Height 27.9cm. Derby, c.1776. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

13) Astronomy clock by Benjamin Vulliamy (1747-1811), the case of biscuit porcelain. Height 46.35 cm. Derby, 1785.

14) Figure of Fire from a group of The Elements. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Bristol, c.1775. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

- 15) Group of vases, with decoration in imitation of agate and granite. Cream-coloured earthenware, decorated in coloured glazes and gilt. Height of tallest 17cm. Staffordshire, Wedgwood and Bentley, 1769-80. The British Museum, London
- 16) 'First day' vase. Black stoneware (basalt), painted with 'encaustic' painting. Height 25.5cm. Etruria, factory of Josiah Wedgwood, 1769. Wedgwood collection, Leith Hill Place, Surrey
- 17) Vase. Stoneware, with marbled decoration and gilt. Height 31.3cm. Staffordshire (Wedgwood and Bentley), 1773-80.
- 18) Title page from the Livre de Vases by Jacques Stella, Paris, c.1667
- 19) Bust of Jonathan Swift. Black stoneware (basalt). Staffordshire, factory of Josiah Wedgwood. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh
- 20) Page from a Wedgwood pattern book showing borders for creamware. The Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston.
- 21) Layout of the first course of dinner, from Elizabeth Raffald's The Experienced English Housekeeper, 1784
- 22) Layout of the second course of dinner, from Elizabeth Raffald's The Experienced English Housewife, 1784
- 23) Plate from the 'Frog' service. Creamware, painted in enamel colours. Length 35.5cm. Staffordshire (Wedgwood), c.1774. Beeson Collection, Birmingham, Alabama.
- 24) Cruet set. Creamware with enamelled inscriptions. Height 21.5cm. Probably Leeds, c.1770. Temple Newsam House, Leeds
- 25) Drawing of the layout of a dessert service, showing the arrangement of the differently shaped plates, with tureens in the centre for cream and jam.
- 26) Page from a pattern book issued by Whiteheads of Hanley, 1798, showing the design of tureens and sauceboats.
- 27) Group of Toby jugs. Cream-coloured earthenware, painted in enamel colours. Staffordshire, c.1760-90.
- 28) 'Fair Hebe' jug. Earthenware, painted in coloured glazes. Height 22cm. Staffordshire, c.1788. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 29) Pegasus vase. Lilac-tinted stoneware (Jasperware) with applied moulded decoration. Height 46.5cm. Etruria, factory of Josiah Wedgwood, 1786. The British Museum, London
- 30) Teaset decorated with scenes from Domestic Employment by Lady

Templeton. Tinted stoneware (Jasperware). Width of tray 35cm. Etruria, factory of Josiah Wedgwood, c1790. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.

31) Reproduction of the Portland vase. Dark stoneware with applied decoration. Height 25cm. Etruria, factory of Josiah Wedgwood, 1786-90. Wedgwood collection, Leith Hill Place, Surrey

32) Jug. Stoneware, with moulded decoration and a silver rim. Staffordshire, Adams, c.1800-10

## Chapter 12

- 1) Johann Esais Nilson (1721-89), Tearing up The Rococo. Engraving.
- 2) Friedrich August Krubsacius. Satirical decorative cartouche. Engraving, 1759
- 3) Daniel Chodowiecki (1726-1801). Aff[le]ctation contrasted with Natur[le]. Engravings from the Goettinger Taschenkalender, 1778
- 4) Group of The Good Mother modelled by M.V. Acier. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Meissen, c.1774
- 5) Teaset for two (dejeuner). Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Meissen, c.1800. Porzellansammlung, Dresden
- 6) Tray from a dejeuner. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours with a scene from Goethe's Werther and gilt. Width 37cm. Meissen, c.1785. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1328-1871)
- 7) Ecuelle and dessert plate from the Kurland service. Hard-paste porcelain, decorated in enamel colours and gilt. Meissen, c.1774.
- 8) von Kauffmann memorial. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Ludwigsburg, 1789. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Frankfurt-am-Main
- 9) Tureen from the 'Bead' service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 24cm. Nymphenburg, 1792
- 10) Centrepiece in the form of a temple. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 60.5cm. Berlin, 1791-95. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (C.745-1923)
- 11) Dejeuner in the neo-classical taste, c.1800. Ilmenau (Thuringia, Germny). Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Length of tray 37.5cm. Kunstsammlungen, Weimer (Nr.A771-7).
- 12) Dessert basket from the St. Alexander Nevskii service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Moscow, 1780
- 13) pieces from the Buffon service. Soft-paste porcelain painted in enamel colours and gilt. Diameter of plate 23.8cm. Tournai, c.1789
- 14) Plate from the Flora Danica service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Copenhagen, c.1790. Kunstmuseum, Cologne.

15) Plate and bottle cooler (?) from a service sent to George III in 1787. Diameter of plate 9.25 inches. Naples, tin-glazed porcelain. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

16) Table with inset Sevres plaques by Martin Carlin. Height 80.5cm. The porcelain Sevres, c.1765. The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.

17) Jean Baptiste Fay, title page to 1er Cahier d'Ornemens et Fleurs, showing different styles of decoration applied to cups.

18) Cup and saucer. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height of cup 6.8cm. Sevres, 1778. Waddesdon Manor, Aylesbury

19) Ewer and basin. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Paris, rue du Petit Carrousel, 1774-1800

20) Vase with Chinese heads. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours by the decorator Schradre and gilt. Height 47cm. Sevres, 1780. The Royal Collection, London.

21) Vase "Boizot". Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt with a scene after Langrenée. Height 44cm. Sevres, c.1784. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (no.48.644-645)

22) Glass cooler from the Arabesque service made for Marie-Antionette. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Width 40cm. Sevres, 1784. Museo Duca di Martina, Naples

23) Dejeuner. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Naples, 1785. The British Museum, London (Franks 138)

24) Pieces from the "Arabesque" service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. St. Petersburg, 1784. The Hermitage, Leningrad

25) Cup and saucer from the dairy service made for Rambouillet. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours. Height of cup 11cm. Sevres, 1788. Musée National de la Céramique, Sevres.

26) Pieces from the service made for Louis XVI. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height of ice-pail 20.8cm. Sevres, 1783-92. The Royal Collection, London

## Chapter 13

- 1) Teaset. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours with Revolutionary symbols and gilt. Sevres, 1793-95. Dragesco-Cramoisan, Paris
- 2) Dessert plate painted with a design of Hepatica. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Derby, c.1795. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh
- 3) Teaset in the 'Bute' shape. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt in the Imari style. Height of teapot 6.75 inches. Worcester (Chamberlain's factory), 1802-5. Geoffrey Godden, Esq
- 4) Tray. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Width 30cm. Swansea, c.1815
- 5) Watercolour of the decorating workshop of Thomas Baxter, 1809. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 6) Plate painted with a scene of Britannia mourning the death of Nelson. Soft-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Caughley, painted in the workshop of Thomas Baxter, signed and dated 1806. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 7) Portion of a teaset of the London shape. Bone-china, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Staffordshire, factory of Thomas Minton, before 1814. Private collection
- 8) Selection of Spode china, showing in the centre and above stone china printed in the Eastern style, surrounded by hand-painted bone china vases, c.1810-25. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 9) Watercolour by Mary Ellen Best of the first-course laid out at a middle class dinner table in York, 1838
- 10) Vase etrusque a rouleaux. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Sevres, 1813. Musee National de la Ceramique, Sevres (no.1823)
- 11) Ice pail. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Sevres, c.1810. Wellington Museum. Apsley House, London (C.127-1979)
- 12) Teaset (dejeuner). Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Width of tray 50cm. Sevres, 1814. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 13) Teaset (dejeuner) in a leather case taken from the coach of Joseph Bonaparte after the Battle of Vittoria in 1813. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Paris (Dihl and Guerard), c.1810. Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London



14) Garniture of 'Persian' vases designed by the architect Schinkel in 1823.. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 68 and 72 cm. Berlin, c.1837-44. London, Sothebys.

15) Vase from the 'Onyx' service. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height 33cm. Nymphenburg, c.1830. Residenzmuseum, Munich.

16) Cup and saucer inscribed with the name of the English painter Sir Thomas Lawrence. Hard-paste porcelain, painted in enamel colours and gilt. Height of cup 9.3 cm. Vienna, c.1825. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

17) Page from the Meissen illustrated price-list of 1846, showing pieces in the revived rococo taste for the English market.

18) 'Rhinoceros' vase. Bone china, painted in enamel colours with a scene from Don Quixote and gilt. Height 1m 14cm. Rockingham, 1827. Clifton Park Museum, Rotherham.

ΑΙΕΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΕΙΝ



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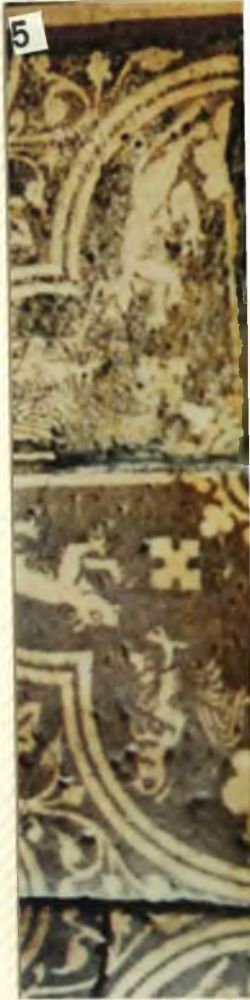
*The Author*  
.....  
*July 1994*  
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12



Plate 2. Dorota, first quarter of the XVI c.





15



Plate 3 Urbino Dish by Francesco Xanto Avelli, 1533 (c89)

*Urbino Dish by Francesco Xanto Avelli, 1533 (c89)*

*Fra: 2*

16



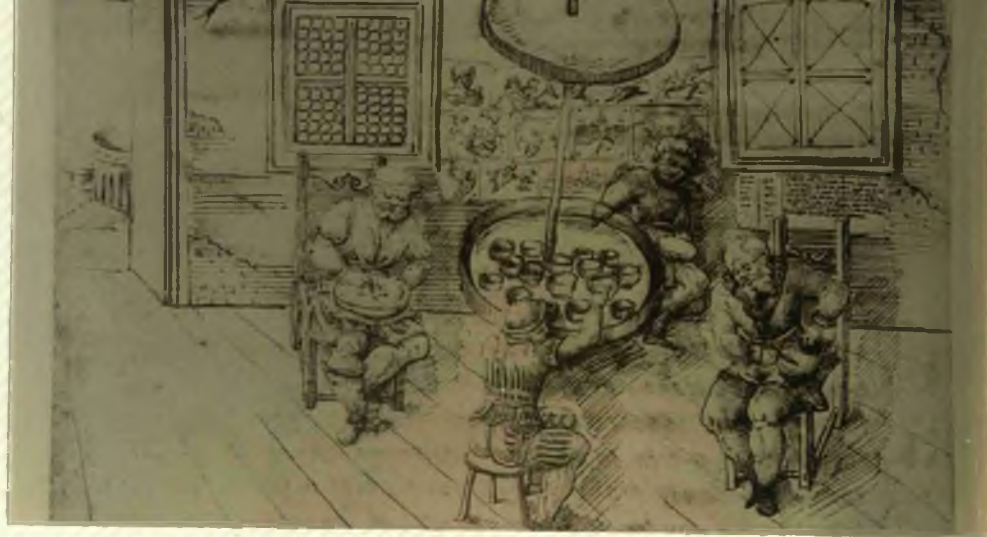




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esses behind  
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1. Design for a maiolica plate by Francesco  
 Bedeschini 1668. *Reissig* must not be confused with the



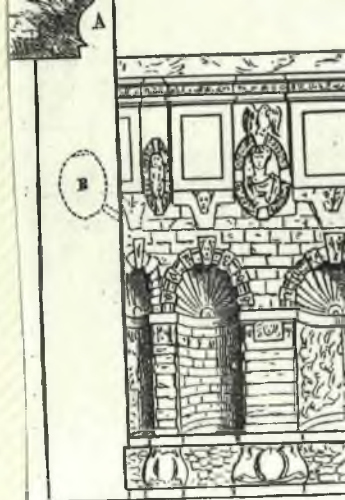












DESIGN FOR  
(In Mo  
A. The margin, or leaning-stor  
D







Chapter



15  
PLATE A DÉCOR RAYONNANT MANÈRE DÉBUT XVIII<sup>e</sup> 29 cm. PARIS MARCHÉ DE L'ART

1 Raum 19



185

185 Ofen aus Ochsenfurt. Mainfranken,

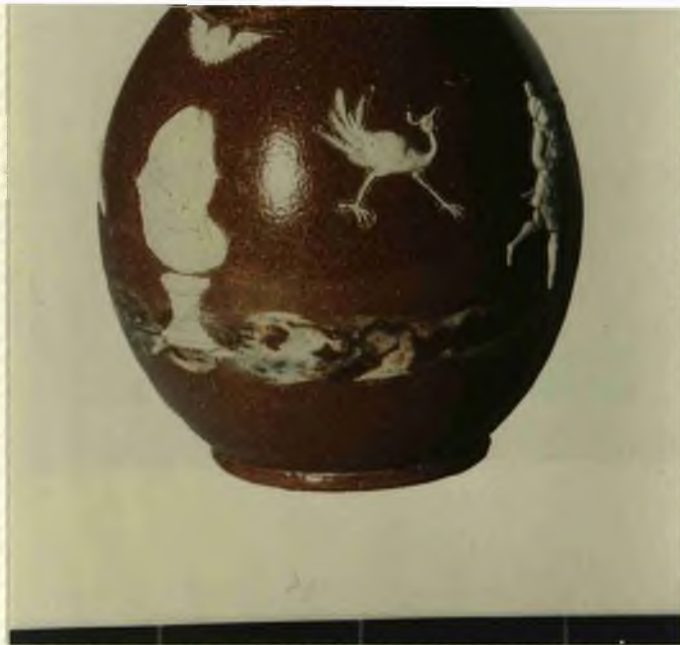












12

A Decantor

A Flower Pot

A Mogg

A Carved Jug

ch as have Occation for these Sorts of Pots  
 lled Stone-Ware, or for such as are of any  
 ape not here Represented may be furn  
 m by the Maker James Morley at y  
 Nottingham







acquired  
Exhibited  
1973-74  
Four other  
cut down  
Hague; 1  
Dublin 3







*...ella e prima generale e pagani e loro si sono...*



7 ...nde en niet nauwkeurig te dateren  
...et te bewijzen, het omgekeerde zoals

...nes decor" en "Behoudens een enkele  
...dering werd al dit Arita porselein ge...

chotel, Haarlemse (?) Intience (Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem)



8

553 | see also lots

557 | see also le





12







ATE C. Mug inscribed "JAMES B. JOSEPH TO ALL", decorated with blue and gold. No. 31.



enamelled, and 'coloured and gold' – to be interpreted as 'Chinese Imari' – and to Japan, where blue-and-white and enamelled versions were made. The subject









FIG  
Th  
Fre  
dra  
the  
Sto



Table de dîner couverte servie à deux services  
à M. de... pendant l'année 1702 sans le fruit  
Il y en a une seconde pareille







Polychrome painting, mainly blue. Marks, T.O.  
P' in orange. MOUSTIERS (Laugier and Olerys for  
1740. Width 12½ in.  
'Black-and-white' painting. MOUSTIERS (Cléryse for







*Le Chocolat. Le Chocolat est un aliment très utile et très agréable. Il se prend avec du lait ou avec du sucre. Il se vend en tablettes et en poudre. Il se trouve dans toutes les boutiques de chocolatiers.*  
**Le Chocolat. Chocolate**  
**PARIS, LAFITE, ET GROSDEAU.**  
*Le Chocolat est un aliment très utile et très agréable. Il se prend avec du lait ou avec du sucre. Il se vend en tablettes et en poudre. Il se trouve dans toutes les boutiques de chocolatiers.*

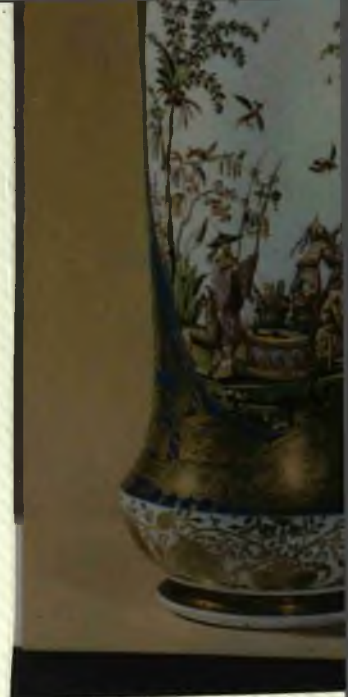
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14



16















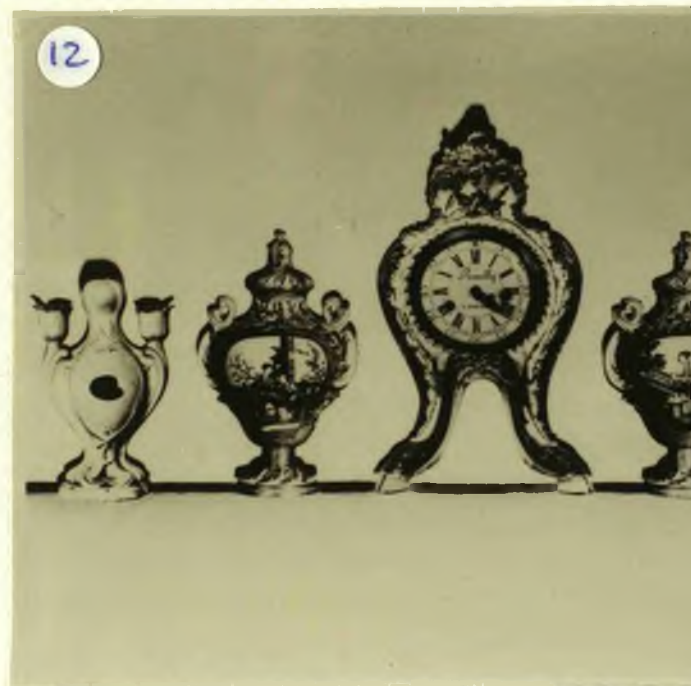
6 *Le Petit Pat*  
M. Falcon



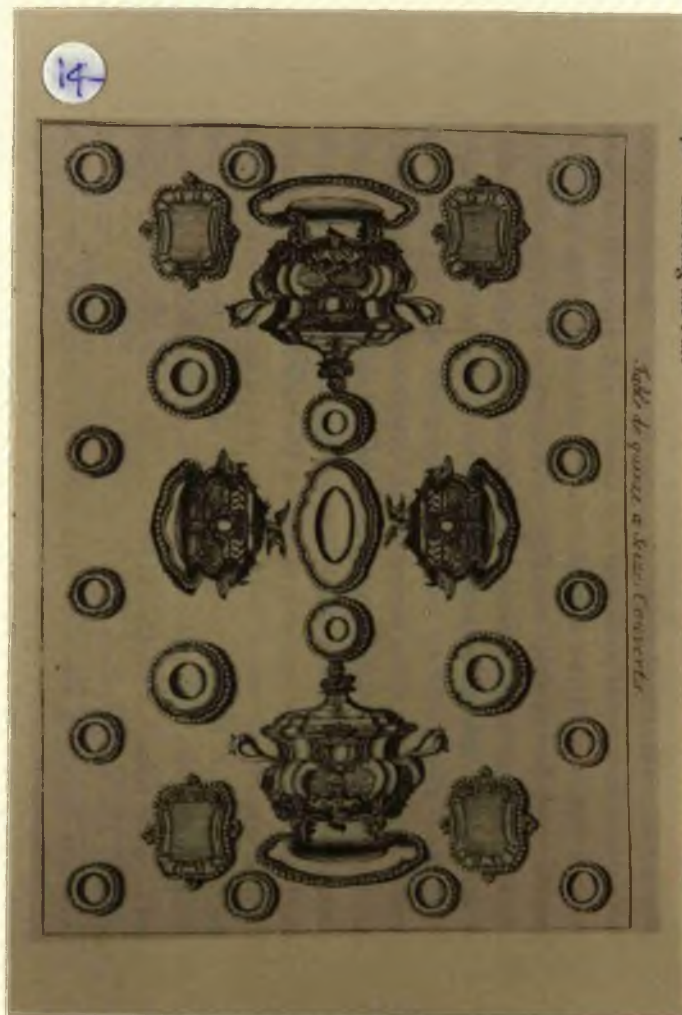
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The Exquisite Supper, engraving by J. B. Moreau, from *Le Monument du costume* (Paris, 1795). Restif de la Bretonne described this scene in a brief anecdote, as having "the most elegant, innumerable comforts scattered around a very small space, and a centerpiece re-







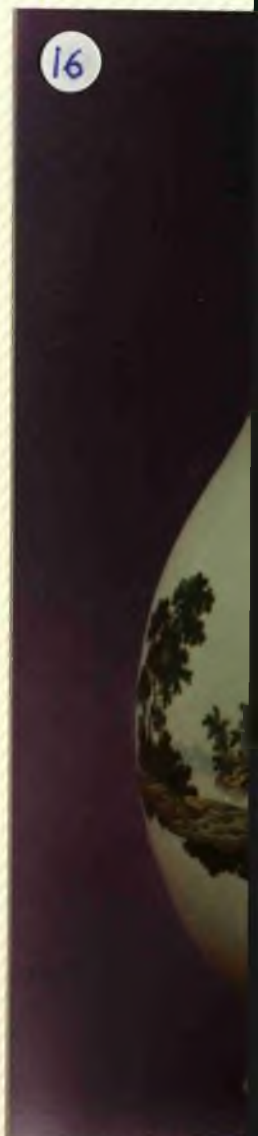




























13



15







Decorative and other English Pottery at Temple Newsam House, Leeds

2



4







7. Broken sauce boat sherds matching the block mould fig. 8. Excavated Town Road, Hanley, from a waste tip associated with Humphrey Palmer, c. 1760.



8. Sauce boat block mould in salt-glazed stoneware, inscribed RIV/1756, probably by Ralph Wood. Matching sherds have been found in Town Road, Hanley (fig. 7).



6



8





AIEN APISTEYEIN



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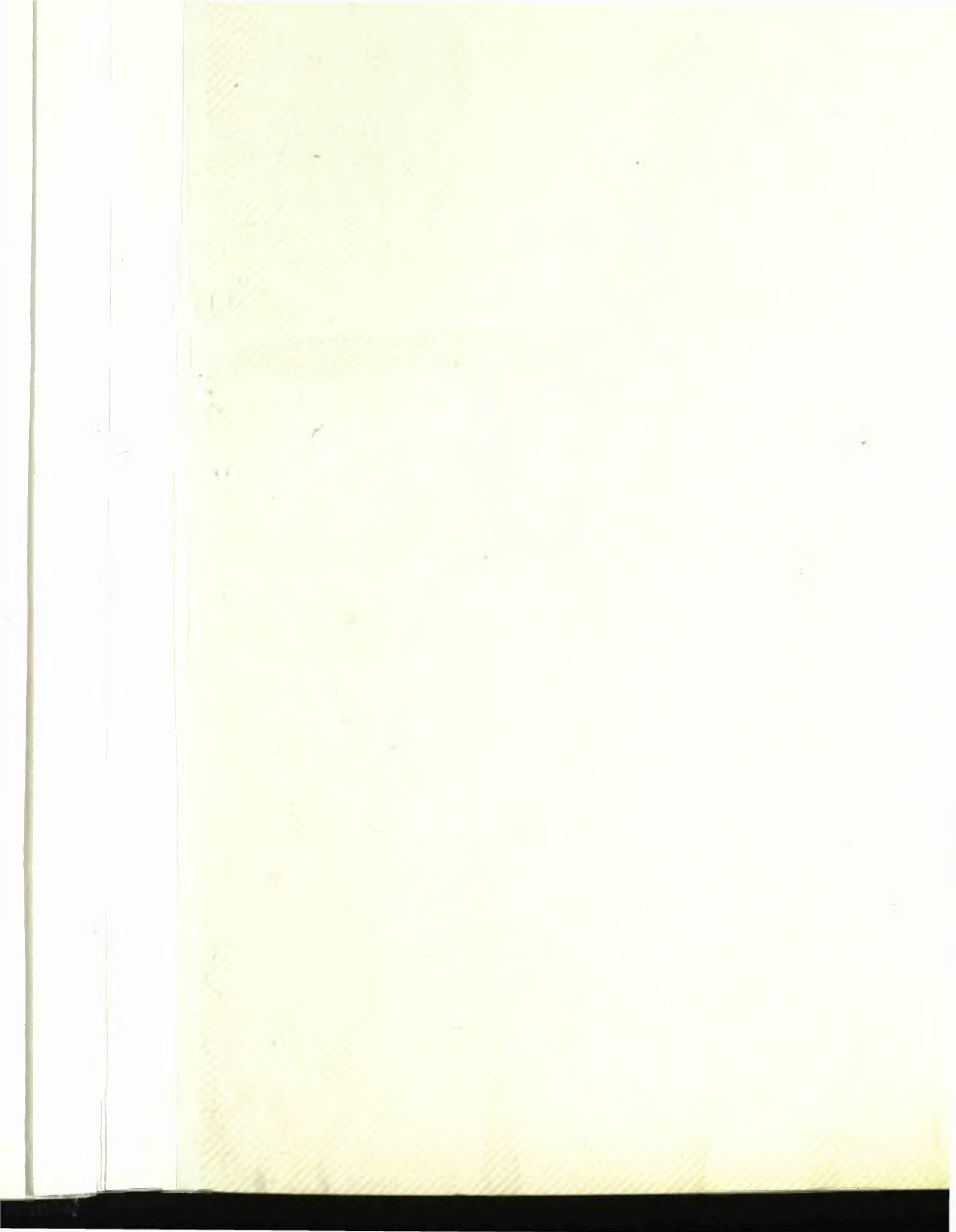
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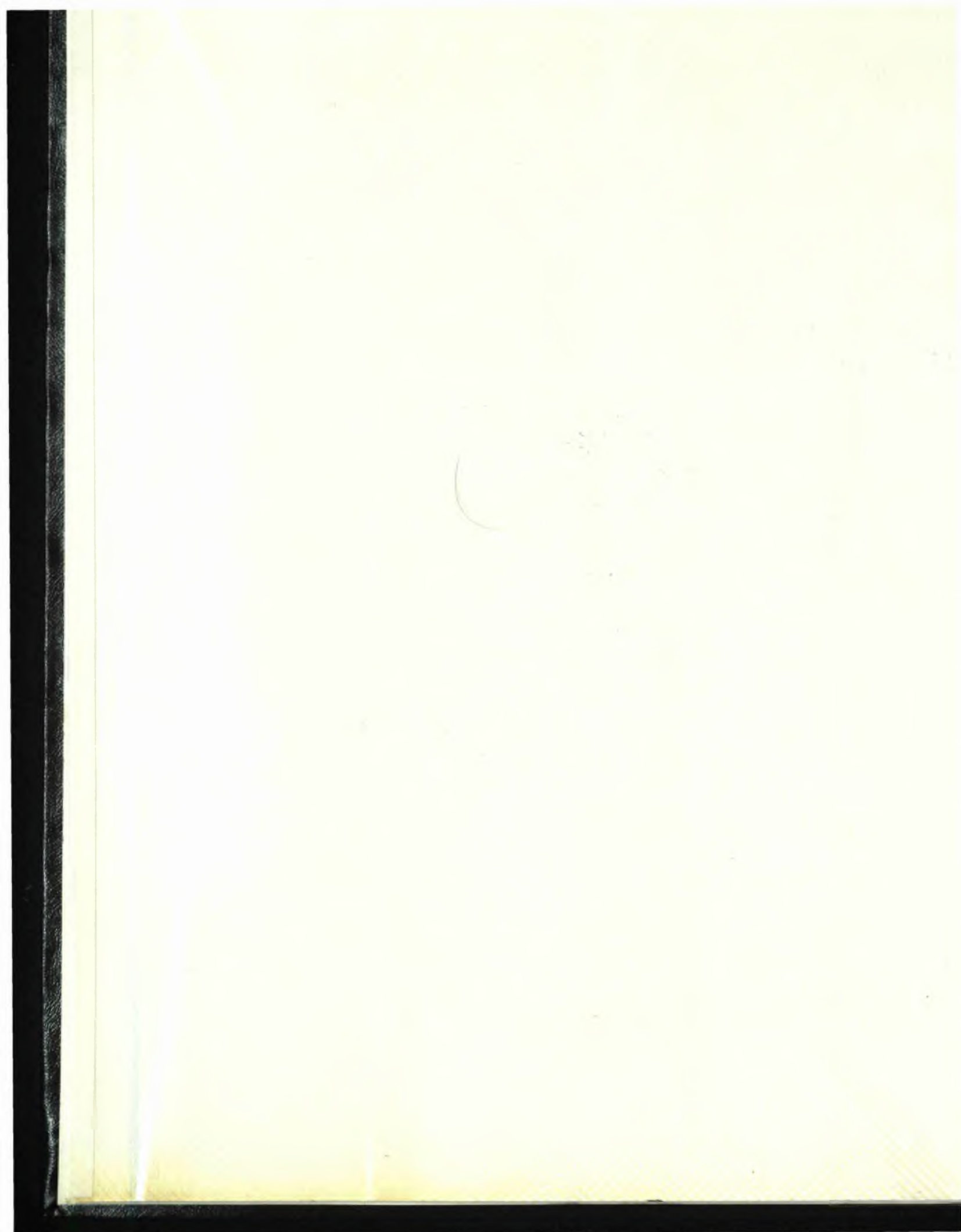
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2

Vases C257-318  
Pot-pourri and  
ornamental vase  
models of the 1760s

Pictorial index of shape



C257-8



C259



C260



C261-6



C267-9



C270-1



C272-3



C276-7



C278



C279-81



C280-3

4



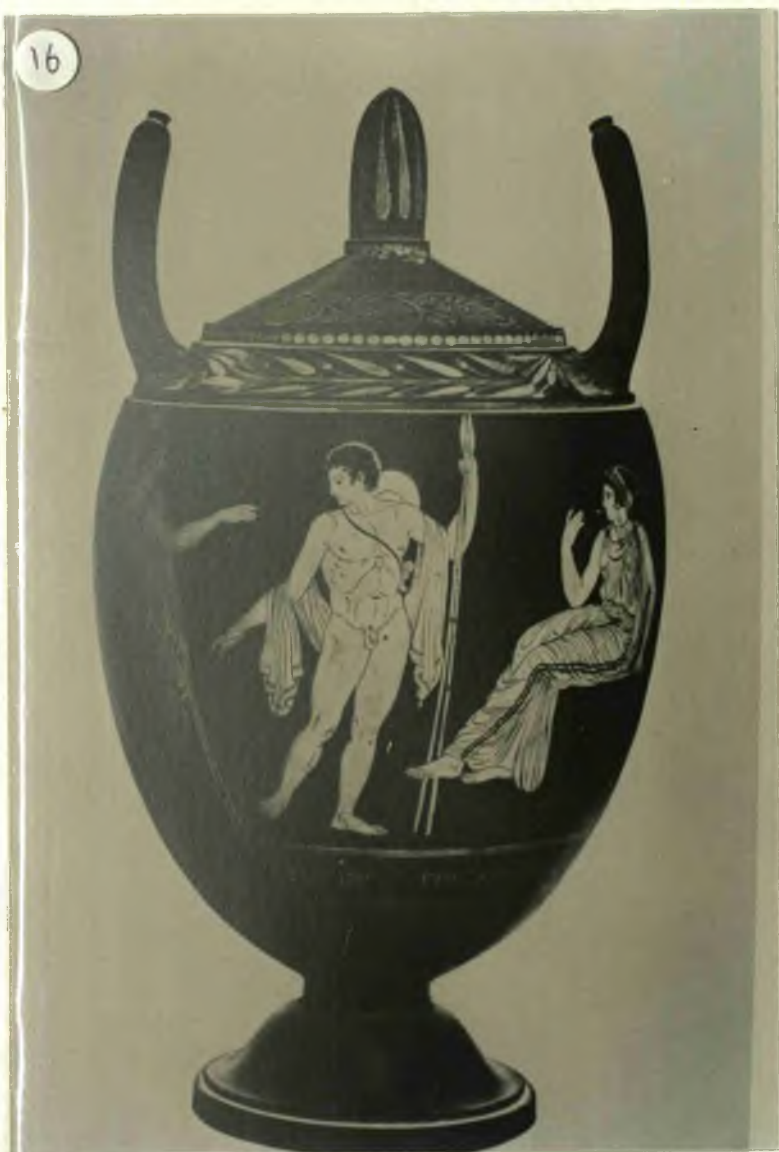








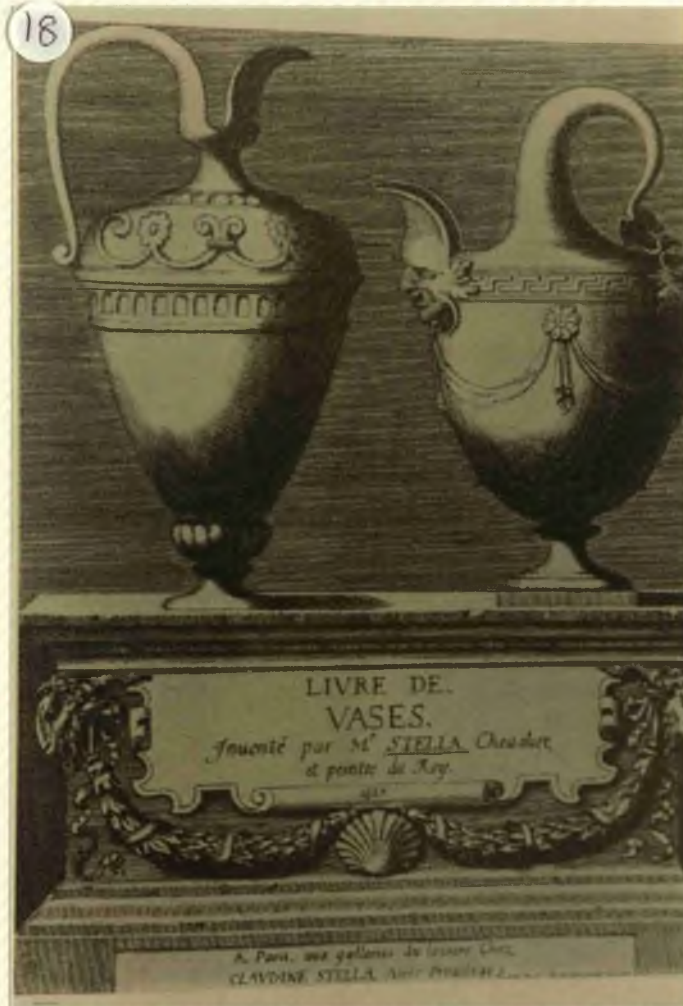








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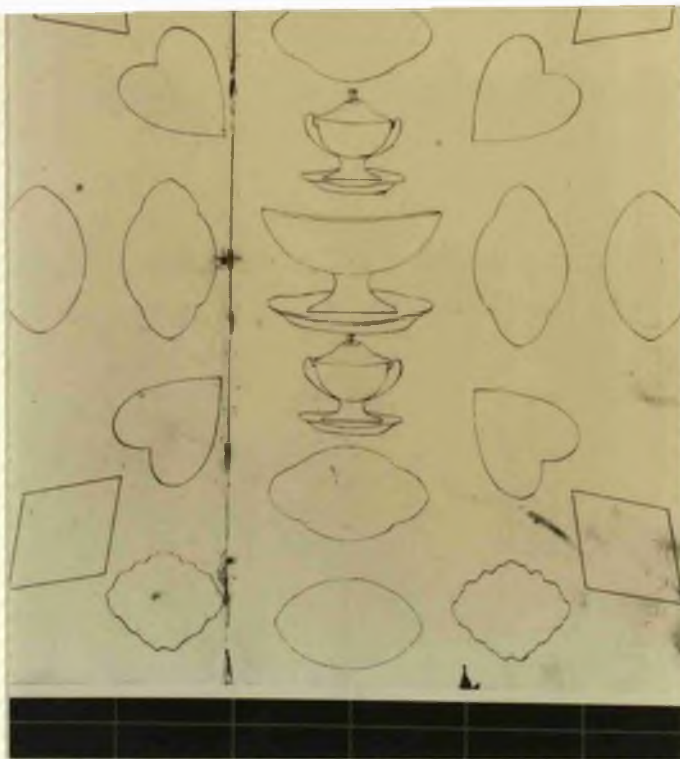
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Affectation



4



















